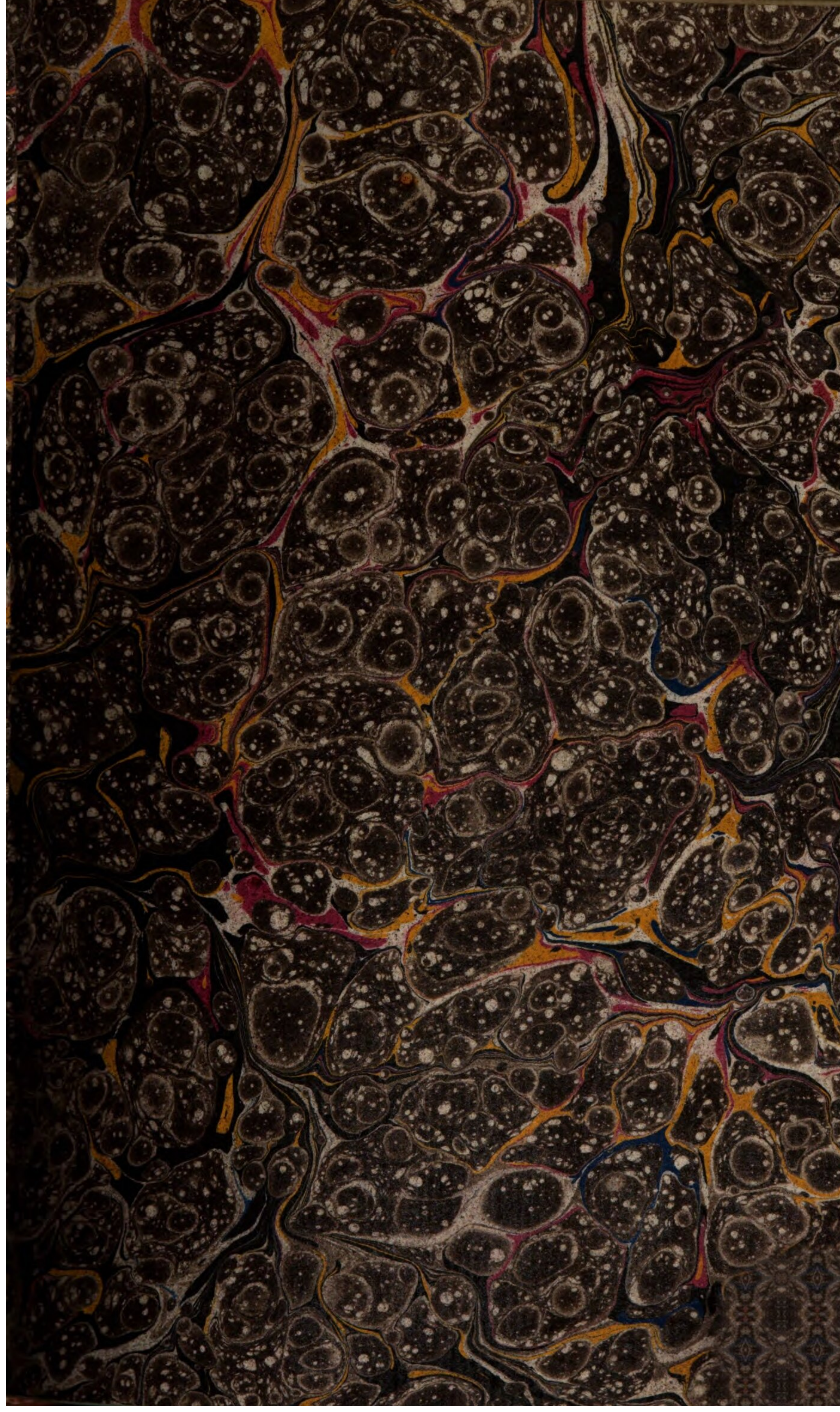






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THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE

AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

REPORT OF THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR 1881

AND FOR THE YEAR 1882

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

1883

WASHINGTON

1883

NO. 1000

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE REIGN OF
PHILIP THE THIRD,
KING OF SPAIN.

THE FIRST FOUR BOOKS.

By ROBERT WATSON, LL. D.

Principal of the United College in the University of
St. Andrew's.

THE TWO LAST

By WILLIAM THOMSON, LL. D.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. II.

BASIL:

Printed and sold by J. J. TOURNEISEN,

MDCXCII.

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF
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THE
HISTORY
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PHILIP THE THIRD,
KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK V.

ABOUT the end of the fifteenth century, the several kingdoms of Spain formed one powerful monarchy, containing above twenty millions of inhabitants. It was well cultivated, abounded in flourishing manufactures, and was governed with equal vigor and prudence by the joint authority of Ferdinand and Isabella. These princes, agreeably to the natural progress of ambition, extended their united power, by the superiority of their policy and arms, in Europe, while the inventive and daring genius of Columbus opened to their aspiring views, an immense field of conquest by the discovery of a new world. An object so animating, by its novelty as well as grandeur, nourished those seeds of ambition which had taken root in the court of Spain, and roused a spirit of enterprise among the people. A succession of bold leaders followed by numerous adventurers, allured to their standards by the love of change, or the hope of

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Ambition
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accounted
for.

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plunder, united to the Spanish empire almost the whole of those vast regions which extend from the Gulf of Mexico to the Straits of Magellan.

The collected treasures of America, over which the cortes had not any control, enabled Charles V. to trample on the liberties of his own subjects, and to threaten neighbouring states with universal dominion. The ambition of the emperor descended, together with his immense resources, to his son, Philip II. and engaged him in projects beyond his abilities. The monarch was governed by a lust of power, and the people were seized with a spirit of emigration. The energy of the nation was diverted from domestic industry, the true source of national wealth and grandeur, and turned to distant enterprises of colonization and of war. The monarchy became faint through the loss of its blood and treasure; and the power, on which its vast ambition had been originally founded, was subverted. But ideas of uncontrollable dominion were by this time deeply impressed on the Austrian race; and Philip III. with exhausted resources, and a feeble mind, faintly pursued the same ambitious plan that had been formed or adopted by his predecessors on the Spanish throne, not more formidable for their extensive revenues, than for the vigilance, vigor, and perseverance of their nature.

It is so natural for sovereign princes to exert every nerve to reclaim the obedience of revolted subjects, that the continuance of the war in the Netherlands till the late truce, ought not, indeed,

to be accounted any proof of extraordinary ambition ; and the expulsion of the Morefcoes , a people industrious in an indolent climate, seemed an act by which the Spanish crown voluntarily sought its own degradation. The ambitious schemes , however, of the court of Madrid, though better concealed, and apparently suspended , were not wholly abandoned. The aggrandizement of the house of Austria was still the first object in the counsels of Spain. But her power corresponded not with her inclination ; and her pursuit of greatness was sullied by those machinations which are the usual resources of impotent ambition, and which mark a declining empire.

The peace of Vervins restored the appearance, but did not establish the confidence of friendship between two great and rival kingdoms. The court of Spain continued to encourage and support the enemies of the crown of France ; and the French monarch , in return, encouraged and supported the enemies of Spain. Thus the ancient antipathies of these neighbouring kingdoms were still kept alive by reciprocal injuries. But, while the intrigues of Philip were dark and treacherous , the hostilities of Henry were ennobled by the occasions on which they were exercised, and the part which sound policy required him to act, was consonant to the natural generosity of his temper. This magnanimous prince, enraged at the repeated injuries he had suffered from the ambition of the Spaniards , apprized of their intrigues and influence with the discontented nobles

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courts of
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Great plan
of Henry
IV.

of France, and alarmed at the dangers which threatened both his life and his crown, conceived a project of uniting different powers in a league against the encroachments of a nation which seemed still to aim at universal monarchy. His ultimate design, in the formation of such a confederacy, was to establish among the nations of Europe a new system, and to fix a durable balance of power, by the exaltation of other states on the ruins of the house of Austria¹.

¹ See Sully's Memoirs. — The scheme, which was ascribed to Henry, of uniting all Christendom in one great republic, for the promotion of general happiness, and the establishment of general tranquillity, has afforded matter of great speculation and conjecture. Although it is impossible to penetrate into the recesses of the minds of princes, and that history is more successfully employed in tracing the consequences than in exploring the springs of events and actions; yet, in every design of so great a man as Henry IV. we are deeply interested, and it is with difficulty that we can refrain from indulging conjectures concerning whatever appears mysterious or doubtful in his conduct.

The project of uniting the Christian powers into one general republic, as it was not unworthy, so neither was it too great for the mind of Henry. It was the perfection and just completion of his plan. Nor is it improbable, that at certain times, he amused his fancy with the contemplation of so grand an object. But, on the other hand, it is almost certain that it was not the contemplation of this great end that first suggested the idea of the confederacy, and first roused him to action. A more natural or probable account of his original motives, in his intended enterprise, there cannot be given than what we have in Sully's Memoirs. "Henry IV. recollecting the intrigues of Spain, said, I see these people will never let me alone while it is in their power to disturb

At this time religion was the most powerful band of union among men; and, consequently, religious sympathies and antipathies were the great engines that governed the world. The Austrians gloried in patronizing the church of Rome. Henry, from the most urgent motives of policy, had changed the profession of his faith, and embraced the catholic religion, but still possessed and deserved the confidence of the Protestants. The French monarch, of course, in a contest with the house of Austria, could depend on the good wishes of all, as he was assured of assistance from most of the princes and states of the reformed religion. With England he entered into a league for the mutual defence of that kingdom and of France. The United Provinces of the Low Countries, the Protestant princes of Germany, the greater part of the imperial towns, were ready to take an active part in his intended enterprise. And Denmark and Sweden, although from their remote situations they were not so nearly interested in his designs, if they should be involved in the flames of a general war, it was easy to foresee,

me. And that the different jealousies of honor, of reputation, and of the interests of state, render all confidence and harmony between France and Spain impossible. Other foundations of security must be sought for than words. They will constrain me to do what I never intended. But I swear by God, that if I have once put my affairs in order, and raised money and all necessary supplies, I will make them repent that they have roused me to arms." Vol. iii, p. 33. duodecimo, Paris, 1663.

B O O K would espouse the cause of their Protestant
V. brethren.

1609.

But the catholic powers were not in like manner disposed to favor the house of Austria. For neither was the veneration for the ancient equal to the zeal which appeared for the new doctrines and forms of worship, nor were political motives wanting, which in certain catholic governments counterbalanced those of religion. The princes and states of Italy, who generally looked up to Henry as their protector, favored his views secretly. But the Venetians entered openly into a league offensive and defensive, with a monarch through whose mediation they had been enabled to maintain the civil authority of the republic in opposition to the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope, and whom they regarded as a bulwark against the encroachments of the Spanish governors of Milan. The Swiss cantons too, catholic as well as protestant, either actuated by a dread of the power of Austria, or, as other historians affirm, induced by a promise of Franche Compté, Alsace, and Tirol, embarked in this confederacy². The duke of Savoy also, a catholic prince, but who never professed an inordinate zeal for the Romish faith, Henry drew over to his side, by a promise of his eldest daughter in marriage to the prince of Piedmont, and by holding up to his ambition the sovereignty of Milan. That sovereignty the duke had in vain expected to receive

² Mezeray, abrégé chronologique, 1609.

in partage with Catherine, a daughter of Spain; a mortification the more severe, that the joint authority of the archduke Albert and the infanta Isabella governed the Austrian Netherlands.

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The high esteem in which Henry held this new ally, appears from the terms on which he purchased his alliance. The general voice of admiration had bestowed on both these princes the title of great: and their respective talents and virtues, so formidable to each other when in a state of mutual hostility, inspired them now with reciprocal confidence.

While Henry thus prepared to carry his intentions into execution, an event happened which, according to his usual good fortune, gave him an opportunity of covering his real designs, under the veil of redressing injuries, and supporting the cause of justice.

John William, duke of Cleves and Juliers, having died without children, the right of succession to the sovereignty of those states was claimed by different princes. The most powerful of these prepared to maintain their pretensions by arms. But the emperor Rhodolphus II. as well to support his own authority, as to prevent the calamities of war, summoned the several competitors to appear before him, to explain the nature of their particular claims. In the mean time, he sequestered the fiefs in dispute, the administration of which he bestowed on his brother Leopold, bishop of Strasburgh and Passau. The administrator,

Succession
of Cleves
and Juliers.

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seizing Juliers, levied troops, and began to extend his territories around that city.

Two of the competitors, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the count Palatine of Neuburgh, protestant princes, alarmed at the conduct of the emperor, agreed to make a fair partition of that sovereignty to which they severally made pretensions, until their differences should be terminated in an amicable manner by arbitration.

The count Palatine took the field with an army, and assembling the states of Cleves and Juliers at Dusseldorp, engaged them to acknowledge himself and the elector of Brandenburg as the lawful hereditary sovereigns of Cleves, and all the other principalities that had been possessed by John William beyond the Rhine. Alarmed at these proceedings, the Catholic princes of the empire formed a league for the defence of the ancient faith, and sent deputies to demand assistance from Madrid and from Rome. The princes of Brandenburg and Neuburgh, on the other hand, endeavoured to fortify themselves in the states of which they had taken possession, by adding to the support they received from the princes of the evangelical union, the powerful aid of the king of France. The states of Cleves and Juliers annexed to the Austrian Netherlands, on which they bordered, would have extended the dominions of Spain beyond the Rhine, and bridled the power of the seven United Provinces. It was not

therefore with difficulty that the Protestant princes prevailed on Henry to espouse their cause. To the prince of Anhalt, whom they had sent to Paris, he readily replied, and in the most obliging manner, that he would not only assist them with all his strength, but would himself march for their protection at the head of his army. This army consisted of thirty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, a great proportion of which troops were veterans, commanded by officers formed for war under his own standard. He had a train of artillery superior to any that had ever before been brought into the field, and provided with ammunition for sixty thousand round of shot. And so great and judicious had been the economy of Henry, that he possessed treasures sufficient to keep on foot so great a military force for ten years, without the least oppression or injury to his subjects³. Besides this, there was an army in Dauphiny, of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, under the command of the marshal Lesdiguières, ready to join the duke of Savoy in an attack upon the Spanish dominions in Lombardy. Europe had not seen military preparations so great, or known a juncture apparently so big with revolution. The wealth of Venice, the valor of the Swiss, the impetuosity of the Savoyards, the juvenile ardor of the United Provinces, the active zeal of the Protestant princes and states of Germany, the disciplined bravery of

³ Duke of Rohan's Discourse on the Death of Henry the Great. Mémoires de Sully, Mezeray.

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France, the good wishes of all who professed the reformed religion: these, in the hands of a warlike and political prince, formed an engine fitted to subvert kingdoms, and to change the face of the world. The force of the means he possessed, and the grandeur of the end he had in view, were a source of delight to the martial and sanguine disposition of Henry. Sometimes he would take pleasure in reviewing his troops, at others, in trying the arms he designed to wear in the day of battle. He slept but little, was constantly in motion, and conversed much with the ministers and officers in whom he most confided. He burned with impatience to exchange the luxury of a palace for the dangers and hardships of the field, and was eager to retaliate on the marquis of Spinola, the advantages that had been gained over himself by the duke of Parma. He had already strengthened the garrison in his frontier towns, and his troops began to file off in separate divisions towards the general rendezvous in Champagne. He acquainted the archduke Albert at Brussels of his intended march through part of his territories, and desired to be informed whether he should be received as an enemy or as a friend. Nothing detained him in Paris but a desire to be present at the coronation of Mary de Medicis, his queen, whom he had appointed during his absence regent of France.

The house of Austria, against which this gathering storm was directed, beheld it with astonishing indifference. The emperor, Rhodolphus,

more intent on observing the motions of the heavenly bodies, than on watching the movements of his enemies, indulged a natural love of science, the only passion that is able to extinguish the pride of power in the breasts of princes. He had given up, with little reluctance, to his brother Matthias, the government of Hungary, Moravia, and Austria, and soon after he also resigned that of Bohemia. With the title of emperor, he lived a private man. It is matter of greater wonder that the king of Spain, in whom the passion of religion did not eradicate all the seeds of ambition, appeared unconcerned at the warlike preparations of an inveterate enemy. Whether the ministers of Spain trusted to the success of those plots they had formed against Henry in his own palace; or, that with the superstitious credulity of the age in which they lived, they confided in the completion of those predictions that about this time were so frequent in the mouths of Catholics concerning the sudden death of the king of France^{*}; or that they weakly imagined this

^{*} This conjecture may appear at first sight, to certain readers, wholly absurd and groundless. Nevertheless it will not seem altogether extravagant, if we reflect on the power of universally received prejudices on even the strongest minds.

About this time, and even long after it, the science of Judicial astrology was studied by philosophers of the highest reputation, with great gravity, and, as they firmly believed, with great success. There is in the university of Peterburgh, a very able mathematician, who is making great

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monarch had no other object in view than the expulsion of Leopold from the states of Juliers; or from whatever secret cause, it is certain, that amidst a general and anxious suspense, the court of Madrid discovered not any symptoms of alarm. The world, struck with the mighty preparations of France, wondered at the serenity of Spain, when an event happened which proved how much human affairs are governed by causes beyond the reach of princes; which frustrated the well laid designs of the great Henry, and supplied the want of vigilance and wisdom in the counsels of Philip.

Death of
Henry IV.
of France.

On the eve of the day fixed for the coronation of Mary de Medicis, Henry IV. was going in his coach to the arsenal, to converse, according to his custom, with the duke of Sully, superintendant of the finances, and grand master of the

progress in judicial astrology at this very day. It is certain that the duke of Lerma was a firm believer in the doctrines of this science. See *Anecdotes du Ministère du Comte Duc d'Olivarez*.

Men of sense, of the present times, struck with that mixture of genius and extravagance which distinguishes the writings of antiquity, are at a loss how to reconcile so much reason with such great extravagance; and suspect that many of the opinions delivered in those writings were not real, but popular and affected. There is not a doubt but posterity will entertain similar doubts concerning some of the doctrines of the seventeenth and even eighteenth century. Men are ever changing their opinions, yet ever wondering that the world did not always think as they do now.

artillery, when he received two stabs with a knife, one of which pierced through the great canal which conveys the blood from the heart to the other parts of the body. The king fell dead on the duke of Epernon, who was on one side of him, and in whose ear he was whispering when he received the first wound. This parricide was committed by Francis Ravailac, a native and schoolmaster of Angoulême, on the 14th day of May, 1610. The ministers of France conceiving that this execrable deed might have been the effect of some secret conspiracy, put Ravailac to the torture, not only as a punishment due to his crime, but as a means of discovering his abettors and accomplices. But that miserable fanatic had no accomplices; and his only abettors were the priests of the Catholic superstition, whose writings and discourses had fully persuaded him that by murdering the Protector of the Protestants, and the enemy of the pope, he would save his own soul from perdition, and obtain, as a reward, eternal life.

The tragical end of Henry filled one half of Europe with exultation, and the other with horror. The house of Austria rejoiced at the destruction of a formidable enemy; and the votaries of that religion which they patronized, applauded the pious zeal of Ravailac, which they compared to whatever is most heroic in the lives or deaths of saints, martyrs, and confessors. But a general consternation seized not only the Hugonots of France, but every state professing the

Effects of
the death of
Henry.

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reformed religion. The whole protestant world deplored the untimely fate of the patron of religious toleration: and nations differing in matters of religion, united in bewailing the loss of the illustrious guardian of the liberties of Europe. They indulged the melancholy recollection of his amiable and heroic virtues; his compassion; to which, on different occasions, he had sacrificed his ambition; the boldness and vigor of his genius; which disdainng the windings of subtilty and refinement, pursued the paths that led directly to success; his courage, which never forsook him in the most depressing circumstances; his bravery in the field; which by a powerful contagion inspired throughout his whole army irresistible intrepidity; his patience under hardships, and affability in every fortune, which so won on the hearts of his soldiers, that they served him not only with the loyalty of subjects, but the affection of friends. But the celebrated Benjamin, duke of Rohan, not content with mingling his own with the groans of nations, found a melancholy satisfaction in pouring forth the sentiments of his heart in a pathetic composition, and transmitting to posterity a memorial of his devotion to his beloved sovereign. This elegy, written in a strain of passion which nothing could have inspired but the deepest sorrow, is a lively picture of the grief and consternation which followed the death of Henry, and exhibits a conspicuous proof of that

ascendant which he had acquired over the greatest minds^s.

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^s I deplore, says Rohan, among other expressions of extreme and vehement grief, I deplore in the loss of our invincible king, that of France, and from the bottom of my soul grieve at the manner of his death. Our own experience will soon inform us how fit a subject he is for our tears: the people are alarmed and filled with melancholy presages of future calamities; the towns are guarded as if they expected a siege; the nobility seek their safety amongst the most eminent of their own order, whose factions rather threaten them with danger, than console them with any hopes of safety. Together with the loss of his person, I bewail that of his courtesy and affability, his sweet and obliging conversation, the honor he did me, the admittance he deigned to grant me even to his most private recesses, oblige me not only to mourn for him, but even not to love myself in those places where the sight of my good prince once afforded me such infinite happiness. I regret the disappointment of the most noble and heroic enterprise that was ever yet conceived. It is not credible that a military force of thirty thousand foot, six thousand horse, a train of artillery of sixty guns, and ammunition for sixty thousand round of shot, besides the army then in Dauphiny, should be destined for the siege of Juliers, which was since undertaken with eight thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Have I not good reason to lament the loss of such an opportunity of proving my courage, zeal, and fidelity to my king? One push of a pike given in his presence, would have been a greater satisfaction to me, than I should have now in obtaining a victory. Much more should I have valued the least praise in that art of which he was the greatest master of his time, than the approbation and applause of all other captains now alive. I grieve at the manner of his deplorable death: a prince composed of sweetness and clemency; who never condemned an innocent person to death; whose

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After the death of Henry, his friends and allies had reason to apprehend that the vindictive passions of the house of Austria would be heightened and inflamed by the hope of gratification. The Italian states especially, overawed by the power of Philip in Naples and in Lombardy, trembled lest the Spanish arms should over-run all Italy. But Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, whose noble mind was inspired with the pride rather than the despondency of grief, endeavoured to rally the broken forces of the league, and to unite them once more into a compact and formidable body.

Character
of the
duke of
Savoy.

The house of Savoy, one of the most illustrious in Europe on account of its antiquity, is more nobly distinguished for wisdom of policy, and valor of arms. Environed by the dominions of

victories were never stained with blood; who having once reclaimed his enemies to their duty, cherished them as friends, and loaded them with favors. Who that ever lived under this most august prince, as I have done, can take pleasure in these present times? I will therefore divide my life into two parts, and call that part of it I have already passed, *happy*, since it was employed in the service of Henry the Great; and that which is yet to come, *unfortunate*, and spend it in lamentations, tears, sighs, and complaints: and out of the honor which I owe to his memory, I will devote the remainder of my days (the kingdom of God being preserved entire) to the service of France, because it was his kingdom; to the king, because he is his son; and to the queen, because she was once his dear companion and spouse.

• *Spes addita fuscitat iras.*

VIRGIL.

the

the empire, France, and Spain, the princes of Savoy are under a constant necessity of watching the balance of power among their ambitious neighbours, and of penetrating early into their designs, that, by affording timely support to the weaker against the stronger party, they may be enabled to preserve their own independence. And, if Providence has placed this family in a situation in which it is necessary to guard against the encroachments of superior power; the nature of their country, bold, abrupt, and sublime, inspires that confidence which is necessary effectually to resist them. The fastnesses and narrow defiles of the Alps, together with a hardy race of men inhabiting a mountainous and snowy region, encourage the dukes of Savoy boldly to enter on war, whenever the complexion of the times demonstrates its expedience. Thus nature have conspired with moral causes to form that illustrious character which the race of Savoy has justly obtained in the world.

Charles Emanuel did not disgrace, but, on the contrary, added lustre to the dignity of his birth. Nature, which had formed this prince of a weakly constitution of body, adorned his soul with a splendid variety of talents and virtues; and these the parental care of Philibert, renowned for his victory over the French at St. Quentin, exalted and matured by a learned and liberal education. The writings of antiquity, so full of heroic actions and rapid conquests, nourished the natural ardor of his mind, and inspired an emulation of the

Character
of Charles
Emanuel.

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1610.

ancient heroes of Italy. Together with that intrepidity of spirit which delights in pursuing great designs, he possessed in an eminent degree those qualities which are requisite in order to carry them into execution; political conduct, and military prowess. His courage was not of that calm and equal kind which is connected with firmness of nerves, and which characterizes the warriors of the North. But, being derived from that vigor of imagination, and sensibility of frame peculiar to southern climates, it was ardent and impetuous. His genius also like that of the warmer climates, was fertile even to excess, and prone to subtilty and refinement. From a temper so sanguine, and an imagination so luxuriant, he derived an elasticity of spirit that rose under misfortunes; whence, though sometimes defeated, and often disappointed, he was never discouraged. His resources were endless: for there could not be a conjuncture in which the superiority of his genius could not find some favorable opportunity of practising on the passions, and managing the hopes, and fears, and follies of men. So various were his stratagems of policy and of war, that the most penetrating of his cotemporaries professed themselves unable to form any probable conjecture concerning his designs. Something, however, of the vast and unbounded characterized his conduct, the ardor of his inventive genius, engaging him not unfrequently in projects beyond his utmost power to accomplish⁷. Nor were

⁷ Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Sallust.

the powers of his capacious mind wholly absorbed in schemes of ambition. Whatever was elegant or great touched his soul, and he was prone to the pleasures of society and love. He was a friend to men of letters, a patron of all the arts, an enthusiastic admirer and bountiful rewarder of merit of every kind. And the greatness of his mind was so happily tempered with benignity and grace, that the engaging affability of his noble deportment alleviated in the breasts of his subjects the hardships which they suffered through his restless ambition. On the whole, it is difficult to conceive that qualities so opposite should co-exist in the same person: so great boldness with such deep design; such loftiness of spirit, with such sweetness of demeanour; such ardor of mind with so much subtilty, and such profound dissimulation*.

This prince, who had opened his mind to the greatest designs, and whose natural ambition had been encouraged and fortified by confidence in Henry, did not abandon them after he was deprived by death of so great an ally. His penetrating eye had discovered the languid state of the Spanish monarchy, and he entertained a contempt for the

* In this singular character there is not a trait unsupported by the testimony of cotemporary historians, who, all of them, mention this prince with an admiration which could not have been excited but by the most amazing talents. See *Bellum Sabaudicum*, &c. *Alfonso Loschi*; *Battista Nani*, *Siri Memorie recondite*; *Le Mercure François*, *Histoire de la Regence de Marie de Medicis*, &c. &c.

B O O K

V.

1610.

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V.

1610.

Charles E.
manuel en-
deavours to
revive the
league a-
gainst the
house of
Austria.

Character
of Mary de
Medicis,
queen re-
gent of
France.

counsels by which it was now governed⁹. He did not, therefore, yet despair of being able to extend his dominion over that fair territory which had awakened his ambition. Should he be able to reunite the scattered forces of the league, success would be certain: even if France should remain neutral, he hoped to maintain a contest with the Catholic king, both with glory and with advantage. He, therefore, endeavoured to revive a powerful combination against the house of Austria, whose power he represented as excessive and dangerous. He attempted to establish an alliance with France, by obtaining from the new regency a confirmation of the promise that had been made by Henry of giving his eldest daughter in marriage to the prince of Piedmont. But, after the death of the French monarch, all the maxims of his policy were subverted, and the schemes he had projected abandoned. The parliament of Paris, intimidated by the menaces of the duke of Epemon, who commanded the regiment of guards, committed an involuntary act of usurpation¹⁰, by declaring Mary de Medicis sole regent of France during the minority of her son, an infant only in the ninth year of his age. This queen, uniting in her character the refinement of an Italian, with the feebleness of a woman, and the superstition of a good Catholic, was governed by

⁹ Batt. Nani, lib. i. Siri, Memorie recondite, tom. iii. p. 242.

¹⁰ The right of electing a regent had hitherto belonged to the general estates of the kingdom.

maxims directly contrary to those which had been adopted by the manly and liberal genius of Henry. She sought to establish her authority, by exciting jealousies among those who wished to subvert it; and armed her enemies against herself by concessions intended to conciliate their favor. She had obtained the regency without opposition, but not without envy. The princes of the blood, highly offended at the advancement of a stranger, though a queen of France, to a dignity to which they themselves made pretensions, retired from court, and were followed by their numerous adherents. It was the policy of Mary to raise up in opposition to her domestic enemies a faction among the rest of the nobility, and to acquire friends by a profusion of pensions, offices, and governments. The treasures which the late king had amassed in order to overawe his enemies, she employed in soothing resentment, and allaying discontent. All the assiduities, and entreaties, and remonstrances of Charles Emanuel to a princess, whose conduct was directed by these principles, were fruitless. Far from joining a confederacy against the house of Austria, she hearkened with pleasure to a proposal, that had been rejected by the late king, of a double marriage between the dauphin of France and the eldest infanta, and of the prince of Spain with Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of France. This project was first suggested to the court of Madrid by the Pope, who believed that by means of these intermarriages the house of Austria would acquire such an influence in the

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1610.

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V.

councils of France, as would in the end exterminate that heresy which had so obstinately resisted all other efforts.

Immediately after the death of Henry, the court of Madrid, having first discharged the duties of decorum by going into mourning, and by the strongest professions of condolence, renewed to the regent queen the proposition of that double alliance, which had met with her fondest approbation before that tragical event which led to the power with which she was now invested. That event did not produce any change in the inclinations of Mary towards an union with Spain; on the contrary, if that union appeared formerly desirable, it now seemed necessary, in order to support her authority, in so much danger of being overturned by the turbulence of faction.

1611.

Project of intermarriages between the royal families of France and Spain.

In the month of April, 1611, the king of Spain and the queen regent of France formally expressed their consent to the intermarriage of their sons and daughters by their respective ambassadors. On this occasion they also entered into a defensive league, engaging to give each other mutual aid in case of either intestine commotions or foreign invasion. The Spaniards endeavoured to improve and consolidate this union, by engaging the French in a league, offensive as well as defensive; but to this the queen, whose utmost ambition was to maintain, not to extend her power, refused, in positive terms, to consent¹¹.

¹¹ Siri, Mem. recond. tom. ii. p. 524. Mémoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis. Histoire des derniers Troubles en France. Malingre.

Thus not only was the house of Austria delivered from the attacks of that confederacy which had been formed against her, but she acquired an accession of strength by an ascendant in the counsels of that kingdom which so lately appeared her most formidable enemy. In vain did Charles Emanuel, seconded by the importunities of the Pope¹², solicit the Venetians to join in an offensive and defensive league against the ambitious Spaniards. The conduct of France determined that of Venice. The senate, having learned the designs of Mary de Medicis, replied to the duke of Savoy, that it was indeed the interest of all the sovereign powers of Italy to maintain a good correspondence among themselves, and to provide for the common safety; but it was to be feared, they added, that such a league as had been proposed by his highness would serve only to excite the jealousy of Spain, a nation which, of all others, had the strongest motives to cultivate peace with all her neighbours. To his holiness, whom they suspected of a versatility of character, which might soon lead him to relapse into the views of that court, against which he now declaimed, they answered, that they could not be persuaded that his apprehensions concerning the views of Spain were well founded. But Charles Emanuel, not discouraged by the defection of both France and Venice, pursued a thousand schemes, and extended his intrigues all over Europe. He held a close correspondence with the discontented lords in France. He

¹² Winwood's Memoirs, vol. iii.

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inflamed the jealousy and the resentment of the Protestant princes of Germany. He proposed to king James a marriage of the prince of Wales with the princess of Savoy, and of the prince of Piedmont with a daughter of England. The mysterious character of Charles, in the opinion of some writers, renders it doubtful whether he believed he should, or desired he might, succeed in this project; and whether it was not his only object, by exciting a jealousy among the great Catholic powers, of his connexion with a Protestant prince, to dissolve the treaty of the double alliance between France and Spain, and to obtain the eldest daughter of one of these crowns in marriage to the prince of Piedmont¹³. Whatever

¹³ The conjectures of these writers, which mark so strongly the general opinion that was entertained of the duke of Savoy, appear rather refined. I find in Chamberlayne's Letters, among Dr. Birch's Collection in the British Museum, that the duke, on this occasion, showed every mark of sincerity and earnestness. To the English ambassador at Turin, he was highly munificent. He consulted the temper of the English monarch, by sending, as his ambassador to the court of London, a person who concealed the most profound penetration under the mask of dissipation, mirth, and pleasantry. "Fabritio, says Chamberlayne, in his Letters, anno 1612, spends his time merrily with the king, and is never from him." — "The Savoyard ambassador, says he again, gives himself *buono tempo*, notwithstanding that the match grows cold, and frequents good company." — King James, as is well known, had a passion for hunting, and delighted in a collection of wild beasts. The duke of Savoy, who knew this, as

were his views, they were frustrated by the mean vanity of the English monarch, who concealed not from the world his opinion that any alliance, below that of a great king, was entirely unworthy of the heir apparent to the crown of England.

In the mean time, the Spanish troops that were on foot in the Milanese, those of Savoy in Piedmont, and the French army, under Lesdiguières, in Dauphiny, were subjects of various jealousies and apprehensions. The Spaniards seemed ready to pour into Piedmont, and the Savoyards threatened an incursion into Milan; while an army, commanded by a Protestant general, excited an uneasiness in the queen regent herself, as well as other Catholic princes.

In this situation of affairs, the Pope interceded with Mary de Medicis to disband the troops in Dauphiny, and importuned the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy to dismiss those troops which were a source of so much anxiety and dread to France as well as to Italy. The influence of his holiness easily prevailed on the queen to disband

a mark of attention to his majesty, sent him a present of an ounce and a leopard. The animals were fetched from London to Theobald's, where the king resided. The leopard had almost committed an unpardonable fault, for he fixed on a red deer's calf, nursed up at Theobald's by a woman entertained for that purpose, and much ado there was to save the poor suckling. These circumstances, however trifling, are proofs that the duke of Savoy had studied the disposition of James, and that he wished to gain his affections.

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an army, commanded by a general in whose fidelity she did not repose entire confidence, but did not operate so quickly on the minds of Philip and Charles Emanuel. The former insisted that the duke of Savoy should lay down his arms first, and make satisfaction for his engagement with the late king of France. The latter alledged, on the contrary, that the weaker party ought to stand upon his guard when he seemed to be threatened by a more powerful neighbour¹⁴.

The satisfaction which Philip demanded of the duke of Savoy was, that he should ask pardon for his secret treaty with France to the prejudice of the crown of Spain; and that he should send one of his sons to Madrid, to remain there as a pledge of his father's fidelity.

The duke of Savoy obliged to make submissions to the king of Spain.

Charles Emanuel, deserted by all the world, was under a necessity of complying with these mortifying conditions. Prince Philibert, of Savoy, set out from Turin to Madrid on horseback; and, while he pursued this long and tedious journey, he had a foretaste of those severe mortifications which he was to experience after it should be accomplished; for he received not, in any of the Spanish towns through which he passed, the least mark of attention or respect from the king his uncle. Philip, however, received his nephew, at the first interview, with a decent civility: not a word, indeed, was said of the duke, but the kindest inquiries were made concerning the princes and princesses of Savoy. But the second

¹⁴ Siri, *Memorie recondite*, tom. ii. p. 335.

audience was not so agreeable to this stranger: he was now to make satisfaction to the king of Spain in name of the duke of Savoy. The prince, accordingly, had framed an address to his Catholic majesty, sufficient, as he imagined, to satisfy the pride of Spain on the one hand, but, on the other, such as was not unworthy the independent dignity of the duke his father. This address he delivered with a noble grace, and with all those demonstrations of respect which can have place in an intercourse between sovereign princes. With this appearance of his nephew, the mild temper of the king was inclined to be contented; but in the air and manner of Philibert, as well as in the sentiments he expressed, there appeared to the Spanish ministers something not sufficiently humble and submissive; wherefore they drew up a new form of submission, breathing the supplications of a subject prostrate before his offended sovereign. The prince, yielding to necessity, rehearsed these haughty dictates with indignant reluctance.

Philip now ordered his troops to withdraw from the Milanese; but Charles Emanuel, provoked even to madness at the indignities with which the court of Madrid had insulted him in the person of his son, refused to disband his army in Piedmont. He threatened to disavow the submission that had been made in his name to the king of Spain, against whom he declaimed with indignation and rage; and, by various movements, indicated an intention of revenging his

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cause either on that monarch, or his new ally, the queen regent of France. These confederates he attempted by various arts to divide; but all his efforts were fruitless; and the united authority of the Pope, Philip III. and Mary de Medicis, compelled him at last to lay down his arms¹⁵.

1612.

Contract of
marriage
between
Elizabeth of
France and
the prince
of Spain.

The storm that threatened the house of Austria being thus finally dispelled by its authority rather than power, Spain, pursuing the same pacific system, studied to maintain her dignity by the arts of policy, not the terrors of war. In the month of August, 1612, the duke of Pastrana was sent to Paris to conclude and confirm a matrimonial contract between Elizabeth of France and the prince of Spain; and, about the same time, the duke of Mayenne arrived in Madrid, in order to settle and ratify a treaty of marriage between young Lewis and the infanta Anne. The two princesses renounced every right of succession to any of the states of their native kingdoms; and their dowries were equal, being each five hundred thousand crowns. But these contracts were not performed till an interval had elapsed of more than three years¹⁶.

Cotemporary writers relate, with a minute circumstantiality, the festivity and magnificence that was displayed by the courts of France and Spain on occasion of these intermarriages, and describe,

¹⁵ History of the Reign of Lewis XIII. by Levassor, vol. i. anno 1611.

¹⁶ Histoire de Louis XIII. durant la Regence de la Reine Marie de Medicis. Malingre.

with equal exactness, the ceremonies that constituted and accompanied them. They observe, with a sort of satisfaction, that the year 1612, in which the parties were mutually betrothed, was justly styled *the year of magnificence*. For this year, also, *Matthias II.* being raised to the imperial throne in the stead of his deceased brother, *Rhodolphus*, all Germany, as well as France and Spain, resounded with the voice of gladness and exultation²⁷. So naturally do men sympathize with the great, and so sincere is their joy at their prosperity! This disposition sufficiently accounts for those copious details of anecdotes, circumstances, and facts, which we find in the journalists of those times; but would not apologize for a recital of them in a narrative addressed to another age. Such particulars, however, as serve to paint characters and manners are interesting at all times, and, therefore, ought not to be wholly omitted.

When the duke of Mayenne took leave of the court of Madrid, before his return to Paris, he entreated the infanta to honor him with some commission to the king his master. "Tell him," said the infanta, that I am very impatient to see him." This answer of the princess overwhelmed her governess, the countess of Altamira, with shame and confusion. "Ah, madam, cried this

²⁷ Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII. et des principaux Evenemens arrivés pendant ce Regne dans tous les Pays du Monde. Historia de Don Felipe IV. por Don Gonçalo de Cespedes, libro. i. capitulo 2. Mémoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis. Mercure François, 1612.

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lady, what will the king of France think when the duke shall report to him that you have so great a passion for marriage?" "You have taught me," replied the infanta, with great liveliness, that one must always speak the truth." After this frank declaration on the part of Anne, Lewis could do no less in return than express, in like manner, an impatience to see and to receive his bride. Accordingly, as soon as he was informed that the infanta had arrived in France¹⁸, he sent a letter to her, by his favorite Luynes, fraught with expressions of respect and of love. The queen-regent also wrote an affectionate letter to her daughter-in-law. Anne replied to the young monarch's address, in a manner that could not offend the delicacy of even the countess of Altamira. Having first expressed great satisfaction in the accounts she had received of his majesty's health, she professed a desire of arriving at a place where she might have an opportunity of serving the queen, her mother, and where she would be freed from the languor of her present solitude¹⁹.

¹⁸ This did not come to pass until the month of November, 1615.

¹⁹ Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.

"Sennor,

"Mucho me he holgado con Luynes con las buenas nuevas, que me ha dado de la salud de V. M. yo vengo con ella, y muy deseosa de llegar donde pueda servir a mi madre. Y assi me doy mucha priessa a caminar por la sollicitud que me haze a bezar a V. M. la mano a quien Dios guarde como deseo. Bezo las manos a V. M. Anna."

The Arabian conquerors of Spain had introduced into that kingdom an hospitality, generosity, and refinement, unknown before in the West ²⁰. The court of Cordova was the most elegant and polite in the world; and thither generous spirits resorted from all parts of Europe. Together with the mechanical, the Saracens cultivated the liberal arts; and while an external magnificence appeared in their buildings, furniture, and drefs, their poetry and music, consecrated to heroism and love, displayed an inward generosity and elegance of mind still more noble and affecting. Hence the Spanish nation possessed a taste for grandeur, a generosity of disposition, and a delicacy of sentiment, which in the period under review were unequalled, and which have not yet been exceeded in any other nation. Accordingly in that competition of courtesy and gallantry, which arose, on occasion of the intermarriages, the Spaniards far outshone the French. Not only did they exhibit greater splendor in their equipages, processions, and shows, but a more delicate taste, and a higher style appeared in their manners. The munificence of the grandees to the princesses of Spain and the ladies of her court, to the young queen of France and her attendants, and also to the queen-regent, was unbounded. The French ambassador, in his way to Madrid,

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The gallantry and honor of the Spanish nation accounted for.

²⁰ A very amusing as well as philosophical account of the causes that formed this national character, is given by Mr. Richardson in his Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations.

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received a sumptuous entertainment at the mansion of the prime minister of Spain. This entertainment was so contrived that it appeared to have been given, not by the duke, but at the expense of the inhabitants of the town of Lerma, transported with joy at the presence of a stranger so honorably distinguished. In Burgos, Segovia, Madrid, and other towns of Spain, in which the prince had occasion to appear, the citizens celebrated his nuptials with fireworks, illuminations, triumphal arches, balls, masquerades, musical and dramatical performances, and other ingenious diversions²¹.

At this time, there did not appear in the Spanish dominions any symptoms of declining trade, or exhausted wealth. The face of the whole empire was gay and magnificent. But so expensive a display of loyalty was not approved by the duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, a man of wit, whim, and fancy, and in every respect himself the most extravagant person subject to the crown of Spain. The men of rank in Sicily²², with a strange mixture of obsequiousness and vanity, presented a petition to Ossuna, humbly praying that they might be permitted to solemnize the publication of the double marriage as well as the other subjects of the empire. They proposed, at the same time, to levy a tax upon themselves for this purpose. The duke greatly applauded

²¹ *Mercure François*, 1612. *Historia de Don Felipe IV.* por Don Gonçalo de Cespedes, libro i. capitulo 2.

²² The Titolati. *Winwood's Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 377.

this

this design, which he encouraged, by contributing himself to its execution with equal frankness and liberality; but, after the money of the Sicilians was all put into one bank, the viceroy, in the plenitude of his transcendant power, gave orders that not one maravedi should be wasted in idle pomp and show; but that it should be distributed among certain poor virgins of honorable descent; adding withal, that, in his opinion, the money would be better employed in the multiplication, than in the solemnization of marriages. The subsequent conduct of this singular person will recal this anecdote to the mind of the reader, and incline him, perhaps, to conjecture that this judicious disposal of the Sicilian treasure, did not originate either in a disapprobation of waste, or in mere regard to the Sicilian damsels.

The Spaniards had now leisure to breathe after the toils of war; and the authority of the Spanish name being in some measure restored by the submission of the duke of Savoy, and an advantageous connexion with France, they endeavoured, for the present²², to maintain it by policy, rather than to extend it by a hazardous appeal to arms. But the ambitious spirit of Charles Emanuel, incapable of rest, and impatient of disgrace, soon obliged them to quit that shade of ancient authority and renown, under which they attempted

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The political schemes of Spain disordered by the restless ambition of the duke of Savoy.

²² There are writers who affirm that at this time the Spanish ministers were so elated at the alliance with France, that they considered it as the sure forerunner of the reduction of the revolted provinces.

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The duke
of Savoy
revives his
pretensions
to the sove-
reignty of
Montferrat.

to conceal the real state of Spain, and to prove its strength or its weakness in the field of battle. The duke of Savoy, being descended from the imperial house of the Paleologi, possessed ancient pretensions to the sovereignty of Montferrat, which was also claimed and enjoyed by the family of Gonzaga. In order to compose the differences which frequently arose from this contested claim, a marriage was concluded between Francis, duke of Mantua, and Margaret of Savoy; Charles Emanuel, in favor of this alliance, having resigned to his daughter and her children his right of succession to the marquisate in question. Francis died in the month of December, 1612, leaving behind him an only child, a daughter, in the fourth year of her age. Ferdinand, cardinal of Gonzaga, brother to the late duke, was, beyond all doubt, heir to the duchy of Mantua; but the sovereignty of Montferrat, which was not a fief-male, descended upon his niece, the young princess Maria. In these circumstances the duke of Savoy conceived the design of reviving his pretensions to that state. His right to the marquisate he did not consider as diminished, but rather strengthened by that of his grandchild; and the guardianship of this infant would give him an entire power over that inheritance, which he claimed in her name, as well as his own. And, that the cardinal might not derive any advantage over him, in the contest that was likely to ensue, by immediate succession, he had recourse to one of those stratagems of which his

genius was so singularly fruitful. His daughter Margaret, the widow of the deceased duke of Mantua, as well as all his other children, returned the fondness of his parental affections with a tenderness and filial reverence that knew no bounds. This lady he easily persuaded to declare that she was pregnant; and soon after, he sent the prince Victor Amadeus to Mantua, on pretence of consoling his sister, but, in reality, in order to conduct her to Turin, if that could be accomplished, or to Milan, or to Montferrat. "It is not fit," said the prince of Piedmont to the court of Mantua, that a mournful widow should pass her days in a place where every thing around her renews her grief, by recalling to her imagination the object of her sorrow; nor is it decent that she should remain longer under the eye of a person jealous of the succession to Mantua. And whithersoever my sister goes, continued the prince, thither it is reasonable that the young princess should accompany her. Nature herself recommends children to the care of their parents: and, what nature unites by the dearest ties of affection, it would be impiety to separate." But the cardinal, well knowing the end of this discourse, replied, that it would be improper to remove the dutchess from Mantua, while she carried in her womb the important pledge of the happiness of the Mantuan state. "If the sight, said he, of my deceased brother's palace be afflicting to his widow, others are not wanting, whither she may retire with safety and, and where she may live with comfort."

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In the mean time Charles Emanuel, the better to effect his designs, endeavoured to engage in his cause the influence and authority of the crown of Spain. The Spanish governor of Milan at this time was John Mendoza, marquis of Inoiosa, who had formerly signalized his valor in the military service of the duke of Savoy, and who had been rewarded with the marquisate of St. German. By this substantial mark of favor, and perhaps not less by those honors and assiduities with which he cultivated the friendship of Mendoza, Charles Emanuel had acquired an ascendant over his mind that seemed almost the effect of superior and invisible power. This man he persuaded to send the prince of Ascoli, accompanied by a numerous retinue, to Mantua, to demand the persons of the dutchess and her daughter in the name of the king of Spain; not doubting that, if they should once be brought to Milan, he would afterwards be able to find means of conducting them to Turin. But the cardinal refused to let the princesses go; a resolution in which he was confirmed and supported by the emperor, the queen-regent of France, and the republic of Venice.²⁴ At length, after an interval of three months, the dutchess Margaret, having declared that she was not pregnant, was allowed to return to her father's house; but all her tears could not obtain permission to take along with her her infant daughter. Ferdinand, having assumed the title

²⁴ Batt. Nani, lib. i. 1613. Siri, Mem. second. tom. iii. Winwood's Memoirs, vol. iii.

and power of duke of Mantua, sent the bishop of Diocesarea to Milan to apologize for his disobedience to the orders of Spain, from a regard to the decree of the emperor, who had adjudged to him the tutelage of his niece; farther enjoining the prelate to pass on to Vercelli, to console Margaret who lived there, and at the same time to insinuate a proposal of a marriage between that princess and the cardinal duke, as the only means of quenching the flames of discord, and uniting the houses of Savoy and Gonzaga both by blood and affection.

The bishop, discharging his trust with fidelity and zeal, pressed the duke of Savoy to consent to an accommodation of differences. The duke discovered a readiness to converse on that subject, which inclined the Mantuan envoy at first to conclude that his embassy would not be fruitless. But Charles, still rising in his demands, in proportion to the importunity of the bishop, had nothing else in view than, by amusing this ecclesiastic with frequent conferences, to gain time for ripening a project as bold as any that had ever been conceived by any politician or hero. Before his eyes there lay the state of Montferrat, to which he had ancient pretensions, and which intersected and broke the strength of Piedmont, on one side extending itself even to the Alps, and on another stretching well nigh to Turin. This state, defended only by the lamentations and complaints of its present possessor, lay naked and exposed to the sudden attack of any hostile

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invader. The princes of Italy, enervated by luxury, would not easily be awaked from that profound sleep into which they had been lulled by long habits of indolence, subordination, and peace. The emperor, on that side of the Alps, scarcely possessed the shadow of power. The kingdom of France was torn in pieces by intestine discord; and the power of Spain, though formidable, was distant. The Milanese, lately disarmed, was destitute of military stores and provisions; and, what was a great encouragement to Charles Emanuel, it was governed by his confident Mendoza, whose mind he might regulate with his usual address; or, if he should prove unmanageable, which possessed not those masterly powers which are requisite to act a successful part in new and difficult situations. The deliberative genius of Spain would not act with an unusual celerity on an occasion, when a fear of drawing the French into Italy, would naturally recommend cautious circumspection: or, if the personal hatred of the duke of Lerma should prevail in the breast of that favorite, over reasons of state, before the hands of Inoiosa could be strengthened by a reinforcement from Spain, the power of Savoy might be established in Montferat. Of all considerations, that which gave the duke of Savoy most uneasiness, was the vigilance of the Venetian senate, to whom no revolution in their neighbourhood ever appeared an object of indifference. But he hoped that however they might interpose their counsels, they would not

hastily exchange the blessings of peace for the calamities of war. On the whole, while distant states were ignorant of his schemes, and before the princes of Italy, involved in clouds of mutual jealousy, diffidence, and doubt, would unite either in power or design to oppose him, he resolved to carry into Montferrat the thunder of his arms, and to anticipate resistance by decisive conquest and firm possession.

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Having secretly assembled his troops, while the bishop of Diocesarea yet waited for a definitive answer to the proposals he had made for reconciliation and peace, Charles Emanuel issued forth from Vercelli in the silence of the night that followed the 22d day of April; and distributing his army in three divisions, poured into Montferrat the terror and devastation of war. There was not any thing in that marquisate capable of sustaining his impetuous force; Casal, the capital, in which the duke Vincenzo had planted a strong fortress, only excepted. And this also would have quickly fallen into his hands, if Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, who happened at that time to be in Italy, had not suddenly thrown himself into it, with a small force which he hastily raised on the coast of Genoa. By garrisoning and fortifying such of the towns he had taken, as were most important for their situation and strength, he formed a chain of posts which opened a communication between those rich and fertile countries that are extended along the courses of the Tanarus and the Po: and in these he

The duke
of Savoy
invades
Montferrat.

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The duke
of Savoy
endeavours
to secure his
conquests.

hoped to maintain his army by contributions and plunder²⁵.

It was now the duke of Savoy's object to secure his conquests, and, for this purpose, he endeavoured either to appease those powers whom he well knew the violence of his conduct had offended, by submissive professions of respect, and insidious concessions; or, to divert their attacks from himself, by making them objects of jealousy to one another. The queen regent of France, being informed of the irruption of the Savoyards into Montferrat, was not untouched by the situation of her nephew the duke of Mantua. In the first fervor of passion she declared her resolution to support the house of Gonzaga, both with her influence and arms. Accordingly she immediately sent the dutchess of Nevers to Grenoble, to engage the mareschal Lefdiguieres, who commanded the troops on the confines of Savoy, speedily to march with a powerful army to check the progress of that prince in Montferrat, and to chastise his presumption. But Charles Emanuel wrote a letter full of respect to the Queen, and, in order to sooth the first transports of her resentment, offered to submit his pretensions to her arbitration, and to resign into her hands, in the mean time, the places he had taken in Montferrat, as a pledge of his deference to her authority and her justice. At the same time he instructed his partisans at the court of Paris, where he had

²⁵ Mercure François, 1613. Batt. Nan. Hist. lib. i.
1613. Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.

found means of conciliating the good-will of the favorites, the mareschal and marchioness D'Ancre, to represent to the queen the impolicy of trusting a great army in the hands of a Protestant general; and the desperate imprudence of rousing the jealousy, and inviting the resistance of the king of Spain. The nuncio too, and the Spanish ambassador having, from obvious motives, urged the same arguments, the queen determined to countermand the orders she had sent, or rather the application she had made to Lefdiguieres, and to employ in behalf of her nephew only her good offices at the court of Madrid ²⁶.

In order to divert the resentment of Spain, or to suspend its effects, Charles Emanuel employed greater art than that which had managed the court of France, but with less success. He dispatched his confessor to the governor of Milan, humbly to apologize for his invasion of Montferat, without the knowledge and consent of the king of Spain. This messenger was, soon after, followed by the prince of Piedmont, and the prince of Piedmont by multitudes of other ambassadors in rapid succession. These were all of them charged with offers so various and incompatible, that the mind of Inoiosa, distracted and confounded amidst so great a variety of views, knew not which to pursue, and remained in a state of inactivity and irresolution. Thus the

²⁶ Batt. Nani, Hist. lib. i. 1613. Histoire du Connétable de Lefdiguieres, lib. viii. ch. 4 & 5. Siri, Memorie recon-dite, tom. iii. p. 92, 93.

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duke endeavoured to prevent a contest with his friend Mendoza in arms, by storming as it were the seat of his affections and passions, whence alone flow all the operations of war and of peace; and by making, in the language of the celebrated Nani, a war of wit upon his mind. But the ingenious subtilty of Charles Emanuel, not satisfied with preventing Inoiosa from acting at all, attempted to make him act in such a manner, as to advance the interests of Savoy in Italy, and wholly to ruin those of Spain. The stratagem by which he hoped to effect this bold design was specious. He proposed that the governor, in the name of the king of Spain, should, with his assistance take possession of the metropolis, the only place of considerable strength in Montferrat, but that every other part of that marquisate should be annexed to his own dominions. At the same time, that the authority of the Spanish monarch might be paramount over the whole province, he proposed farther, that the towns which he had taken, being garrisoned by Savoyards, should have the arms of Spain affixed to all their gates. But Mendoza, who wanted decision rather than penetration, was not ensnared by this insidious proposal. For he was aware, that should the Spaniards seize a part of Montferrat, while the pageantry of their name blazed over the whole, a jealousy would be excited among all the neighbouring powers, which the policy of Charles Emanuel, at a time when the Milanese were almost wholly disarmed, would use as an engine to subvert the Spanish power in Italy.

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The duke
of Savoy's
conduct a
subject of
mortification
to Spain.

The deep alarm which the invasion of Montferrat spread throughout all the Italian states, was a severe mortification to the lofty spirit of Spain, as it implied a suspicion, that the power of that kingdom might not be sufficient to control the ambitious designs of the duke of Savoy. The Catholic king, reluctant to enter on war, endeavoured at first to subdue the turbulence of that prince with menaces and frowns; and, by the mere authority of Spain, to quiet the fears and restore the peace of Italy. The secretary Vargas was dispatched from Madrid to Milan, with orders to the governor to announce to Charles Emanuel, that it was the will of Philip that he should withdraw all his troops from Montferrat, and to threaten force in case of disobedience.

The Spanish ministers in Italy, in like manner, labored to maintain the authority of their nation by raising their language to the most majestic tone. The marquis of Inoiosa encouraged the Italian princes to trust in the protection of the king of Spain, rejected with disdain the idea of admitting any associate with that monarch in composing the differences of Italy, and attempted by various artifices to prevent Cosmo, duke of Tuscany, from sending assistance to his relation the duke of Mantua. Don Alphonso de la Queva, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, assured the senate, "that, without any noise or trouble, Charles Emanuel should be punished, and Ferdinand restored to his rightful inheritance; that there was no reason to be fearful of any event, or

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Artifices of
the duke of
Savoy.

to dread the turbulent ambition of any prince, while the undiminished goodness and power of the great potentate whom he served, would not suffer any innovation in Italy, nor any disturbance of that peace which was so happily enjoyed under his authority ²⁷."

But, although he was thus threatened by Spain, although the emperor denounced the imperial ban, and his adversary was directed and supported by the counsels and wealth of Florence and of Venice; yet the duke of Savoy remained undaunted, and steadily pursued his object by policy and arms. In order to alarm the jealousy of Spain, he threatened to call to his aid the troops of France. When the Pope exhorted him to peace, he protested that he would overwhelm Italy with an inundation of heretics. He dismissed the Venetian ambassador with orders to inform the senate, that if they should persist in affording succour to the duke of Mantua, he would cover the Adriatic with Turkish pirates. But while he thus studied to work on the fears of his adversaries, he neglected not to use any means by which he might conciliate their favor. He offered to deposite in the hands of the Spaniards his rights to Montferrat, and the places he possessed in that province, on condition that the princess Mary should be brought to Milan, and remain there along with her mother, a proposition by which he intended at once to show his own deference to the king of Spain, and to sow the seeds of

²⁷ Batt. Nani, Hist. lib. i. 1613.

jealousy between that monarch and the duke of Mantua. Nor was his design disappointed; for to the measure which he had proposed the governor of Milan cordially agreed. But Ferdinand utterly rejected it, with bitter complaints against Inoiosa, who presumed, without his knowledge, to dispose of the blood of Gonzaga.

Charles Emanuel, having thus thrown the blame of disobedience to the will of Spain on Ferdinand endeavoured to improve the advantage he had gained by sending Victor Amadeus to represent to the court of Madrid, how much the duke, his father, inclined to do what should be agreeable to their desire. Of this, he said, he had given a signal proof, by committing into their hands the heir of his dominions as a pledge of the obedience of his whole house.

On the strength of all this merit with the court of Spain, the duke, having hastily thrown a garrison of four hundred men into Pontestura, under the colors of Spain, marched onward with his army to Nizza de la Paglia, and began to batter it from three different places. This town, which was but weakly fortified, was, however, effectually defended by the fidelity and valor of its governor, Manfrino Castiglione, who, by rigorous discipline, and by frequent sallies, gained time for its relief.

The governor of Milan, who had by this time reinforced his army, roused by a general clamor, and constrained by the orders of Spain, resolved effectually to curb the troublesome ambition of

The governor of Milan checks the ambition of the duke of Savoy.

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his friend, the duke of Savoy. He sent the prince of Ascoli with five thousand men to join the prince Vincenzo, who waited their arrival with three thousand more in the service of the duke of Mantua. The slowness of Ascoli's march seemed to indicate an intention to hearken to a proposition that had been made for a suspension of arms; but the Mantuans urging him to advance without delay, the united army at last approached to Nice. The Savoyards, no longer doubting the intention of Inoiosa to raise the siege, on pretence of respect to the ensigns of Spain, retreated in good order without being pursued. The duke of Savoy now offered to surrender all that he possessed in Montferrat, and peace was made on this condition. But this pacification did not remove the apprehensions of the princes of Italy; for the duke of Savoy had uniformly contended for an act of oblivion in favor of count St. George, and other subjects of Mantua, who had taken up arms to support his claim to Montferrat; and the duke of Mantua, on the other hand, had as constantly insisted on their punishment, and also on reparation of damages.

These mutual pretensions appeared to the sagacity of the Italian states the embers of a war, ready to flame out with increased fury. There was evidently a collusion, they thought, between Charles Emanuel and the marquis of Inoiosa, some secret design which would soon transpire: for though the duke evacuated the towns he had taken, he did not dismiss, but, on the contrary,

reinforced his troops; and the governor, though he seemed to have accomplished the design of his military preparations, remained still in arms. Their conjectures were not without foundation; for Ferdinand would not pardon the partisans of a competitor for the sovereignty of any part of his dominions, and still insisted on reparation of damages. And Charles published to the whole world, in writing as well as discourse, that the governor promised him that no farther mention should be made of damages, and that the exiles of Montferrat should be restored to their estates, and all the privileges of other subjects; a condition from which he was determined never to depart.

In this contest the marquis of Inoiosa took a decided part in favor of Savoy, and in the most haughty strain threatened Ferdinand with all the rage of war, if he should refuse to agree to the terms which he had prescribed. He instantly dispatched Antonio Pimentelli, general of the Milanese light-horse, to bring the young princess from Mantua to Milan. This, Pimentelli would have done, even by force, if, having been conducted into the apartments of the child, he had not been convinced, that, from illness, she was not in a condition in which she could be removed. Upon this the duke of Mantua sent an envoy to Madrid with his excuse for not giving up the princess, and another to France to solicit the good offices of the queen-regent with the Spanish monarch, which she readily granted. The ministers

The award
of Spain re-
specting the
dispute
concerning
Montferrat.

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of Spain at last declared the will of Philip to be, "That the differences between the dukes of Savoy and Mantua concerning reparation of damages, and the pardon of the rebels, should be referred to the arbitration of the pope, the emperor, and himself; that the princess Mary should be brought to Milan; that the dutchess Margaret should marry Ferdinand; and that both dukes should disarm their forces, those of the king being sufficient to execute whatever should be necessary for relieving the oppressed, and subduing the obstinate."

The marquis of Inoiosa, at the same time that he sent Pimentelli to Mantua, in order to preserve the appearance of impartiality, dispatched Sancho de Luna, governor of the castle of Milan, to Turin, to signify to the duke of Savoy that he must lay down his arms. Charles was now sensible that his contest with Ferdinand had no other tendency than to reduce himself, as well as that prince, under the dominion of Spain: unwilling, therefore, to disband his army, the only pledge of his sovereign independency, he immediately set about framing excuses, and inventing stratagems. He represented to the Spanish ministers at Milan, that in the province of Dauphiny there was an army, commanded by the marshal Lesdiguières, which waited only the queen-regent's orders to pour into Piedmont; it was, therefore, necessary for him to stand on his guard. Instead of disbanding, he insisted on leave to reinforce his army; and, as a pledge of his fidelity

to

to the king, and his disposition towards peace, he desired that some Spanish regiments might be quartered in Piedmont. This, he said, would be doing him an essential service; because, his country being defended by the arms of Spain, he would be at liberty to march whithersoever the necessity of his affairs should call him. But the Spaniards were by this time too well acquainted with the artifices of Charles to fall easily into his snares. They perceived that it was his aim to excite the jealousy of France, and to produce a rupture between that kingdom and Spain. He doubted not, that if he could draw the Spanish troops into Piedmont, he would easily prevail on the marshal Lesdiguières to cross the Alps in order to expel them. Hostilities, once begun, would not cease with the retreat of the Spaniards into their own dominions; and, amidst the contentions of his enemies, he might find some means of his own aggrandizement. Such was the refined project of the duke of Savoy!

About this time, the secretary Vargas, in his return to Spain, passing by Turin, demanded of the duke a categorical answer to the question, whether he would disband his troops or no? Charles hesitated not a moment to show his respect to the Catholic king by answering in the affirmative. He immediately made a show of disbanding his army in the presence of the Spanish minister; but he took care to keep on foot his foreign troops, having dismissed only his militia, which might be quickly re-assembled.

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Effect of the
award of
Spain on the
minds of the
dukes of
Savoy and
Mantua.

The determination of the Catholic king, and his peremptory tone respecting Montferrat, filled Ferdinand with resentment, and Charles with indignation. Nevertheless, Ferdinand declared that he was willing to accept all the other terms prescribed by the court of Madrid, provided they would not insist that the young princess should be carried to Mantua; a condition to which they agreed without difficulty. But Charles Emanuel, to all the foreign ministers residing at his court, poured forth the bitterest invectives against the pride of Spain, which he represented as a just ground of general apprehension. "If the Spanish monarch, said he, shall be suffered to impose his imperious commands upon me; the princes of Italy, deluded by treaties, or subdued by arms, will thenceforth lie at his feet, fearing punishment and asking pardon. If the present juncture shall prove the fervility of our dispositions, we shall quickly be stripped of the shadow of that power of which we wanted wisdom to preserve the reality."

Reception of
the prince of
Piedmont at
the court of
Madrid.

The indignation of the duke was still more inflamed when the prince of Piedmont gave him an account of his treatment at Madrid. He had no sooner arrived in Catalonia than he received an order to remain in that province, until it should be known whether his father would yield obedience to the orders of the king; and, if he was at last received at court, it was with coldness and with scorn. The prime minister spoke of the duke of Savoy with disdain and with hatred, and

threatened the severest chastisement if he should not submit, without reserve to the authority of his Catholic majesty.

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This narrative of his son fixed the resolution of Charles. He instantly declared his firm purpose to maintain his independence with his sword, or to perish in the attempt. Accordingly he levied fresh troops, and exerted every nerve again to form a confederacy against that imperious race, whose incurable ambition still aimed at the sovereignty of Europe ²⁸. He still kept up a close correspondence with the prince of Condé and the discontented lords in France, hoping to find employment for the arms of Philip in supporting the authority of Mary de Medicis. And in spite of the positive orders of the queen-regent, Lefdiguieres found means to pass several thousands of French soldiers from Dauphiny into Piedmont, who greatly reinforced the Savoyard army ²⁹.

Courageous
resolution
of Charles
Emanuel
duke of
Savoy.

Charles also insinuated himself, on this occasion, into the confidence of Maurice, prince of Orange, and engaged in his service some troops under count John of Nassau. But, what encouraged him most, was the hope of assistance from the republic of Venice, which, he doubted not, would readily unite their arms with his for the purpose of removing from their confines, or at least of humbling the power of an imperious

²⁸ Mercure François, 1614. Siri, Memor. recon. tom. iii. p. 222. Mémoires de la Régence de Marie de Medicis. Batt. Nan. lib. i. 1614.

²⁹ Histoire du Connétable de Lefdiguieres, lib. viii.

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neighbour. He therefore dispatched to Venice John James Piscina, a man of distinguished abilities and powerful eloquence, to propose to the senate a league, defensive and offensive, for the preservation, or rather, the recovery of the liberties of Italy. Piscina painted, in glowing colors, the dependent condition of the Italian princes, and the inordinate ambition of the court of Spain. He offered to refer to their arbitration, the difference between the houses of Savoy and Gonzaga; implored their aid and their advice; declaring, at the same time, that whatever counsels other states should follow, the duke of Savoy was determined to die with his sword in his hand, rather than to live in subjection to the tyranny of any power on earth.

The Venetians admired the noble spirit of the duke, and found the highest satisfaction in reflecting, that the natural guardian of Italy³⁰ possessed all that courage and foresight which that important character required. Nevertheless, being unwilling to involve themselves in war, while there was a ray of hope that the liberty of Italy might be united with its peace, they declined to interfere in the dispute concerning Montferrat, as that matter, they said, had already been referred to the arbitration of the emperor and the king of Spain. They advised Charles to accommodate all differences with the duke of Mantua, and to yield to the

³⁰ "Al cui Senno, al cui Petto, alla cui Destra
Commise il Ciel la Cura
Delle Italiche Mura."

superior power of Spain whatever satisfaction might not be unbecoming the dignity of a sovereign prince. At the same time they assured him of their affection and good offices, and that they would not remain idle spectators of injustice and oppression.

Faithful to their promise, the Venetian senate exerted their influence in all the courts of Europe in favor of the duke of Savoy. To the Spanish ministers, particularly, both at Madrid and Milan, they represented the calamities and the dangers of war, and expatiated on the advantages of concord and peace. But the deep wound which the boldness of the duke of Savoy had given to the pride of Spain was fomented by lenitives, and to be cured only by the sharp remedies of fire and sword. The Spaniards provoked, not pacified, by the intercession of the Venetians in behalf of Charles Emanuel, proudly rejected every condition that might wear the complexion of treating that prince on a footing of equality, or even of honoring him with a capitulation.

Inoiosa, although his own inclinations were wholly towards peace, in obedience to the positive and reiterated commands of the court of Madrid, sent an ambassador to Turin with orders to Charles to lay down his arms; to require a promise, in writing, that he would not molest the territories of the duke of Mantua; and to inform the duke, at the same time, that the king of Spain would not be bound by any conditions but such

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The duke of Savoy favored by the Venetian senate.

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Milan; and the imperial ambassador ³² denounced against Charles the ban of the empire, if he should not instantly disband his army ³³.

Against those attacks of the pen, Charles Emanuel defended himself with the same weapon. That none of his estates were fiefs of Milan, he proved from the records of history. To his imperial majesty he wrote a respectful letter, giving an elaborate and circumstantial detail of the reasons he had to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Spain, of the ravages of the Spanish troops, and the necessity he was under of keeping up a force to oppose them. In conclusion, he entreated the emperor to revoke the interdict he had issued against him; and farther, that he would employ his influence with the king of Spain, in order to engage him to disband his troops ³⁴. The other Spanish ministers in Italy, perceiving that the lofty spirit of Charles Emanuel was still unbroken, complained of the remissness of Inoiosa, and expressed to that commander a suspicion that the Spanish arms had lost their character of invincible ³⁵. In order to retrieve their reputation, they sent a powerful naval force, part of a fleet which had been fitted out to watch the motions of the Turks, to make a descent on the coast of Piedmont.

³² At Milan.

³³ Batt. Nan. Hist. lib. i. 1614.

³⁴ Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. Roy de France, et des principaux Evenemens arrivés pendant ce Regne dans tous les Pays du Monde. Merc. François.

³⁵ Batt. Nan. lib. i. 1614.

The marquis de Croix, who commanded this armament, finding that he had not a force sufficient to take Nice, turned his arms against Oneglia, a maritime town of Savoy, environed by the confines of Genoa, except where it is separated from Piedmont by the Appennine mountains. Disembarking his troops on the territories of the Genoese, he placed within their bounds his battering cannon, which played upon Oneglia with success. To this place Charles Emanuel could not send any succours, without the consent of Genoa, which was refused. This act of hostility he revenged by reducing Zuccarello, a fief of the empire, under the protection of that republic. Oneglia was defended five days, by the valor of the marquis of Dogliani. Having surrendered this town on honorable terms, this commander brought a part of the garrison into Marro, a castle situated on a rock, a little more inland, and which commands some vallies full of villages. This fortress was also soon after reduced by the Spanish forces, increased to the number of five thousand, by the arrival of several gallies from Sicily.

The governor of Milan, urged by the reproaches and importunities of his countrymen, in order to support this naval expedition, put his army in motion, though weakened by sickness, and afflicted in their march, by those excessive rains which at that season overflowed all the country. Having crossed the river Tanarus, not without a gallant opposition from the duke of Savoy, he found himself in a situation full of embarrassment

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Oneglia taken by the Spaniards.

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Treaty of
peace be-
tween the
Spaniards
and duke
of Savoy.

for the advanced season did not admit of the siege of Asti, and to canton his troops in the open country, would expose them a prey to the vigilance and rapid movements of Charles Emanuel. He, therefore, judged it prudent to retire to the country about Alexandria.

In the spring following, the hostile armies were reinforced, and on both sides great preparations made for war. But in the city of Asti, and presence of Charles Emanuel, a treaty was framed by Julius Savelli, nuncio at Milan, and the marquis of Rambouillet, ambassador extraordinary in Italy from France, the chief articles of which were, that the duke of Savoy should disband his troops, keeping on foot only his usual garrisons; that within fifteen or twenty days after, Inoiosa should also disband his army, and give his word to the pope and the king of France, that he would not commit any act of hostility against the duke of Savoy; that the prisoners and places taken on either side should be mutually restored; that the jewels and dowry of Margaret should be returned; and that an act of indemnity and oblivion should be passed in favor of such subjects of Montferrat, as had taken up arms in opposition to the duke of Mantua. These conditions were not altogether satisfactory to Charles Emanuel; nevertheless, having in vain endeavoured to rouse other powers to arms against Spain, and being desirous of conciliating the favor of the pope and France, who offered to guarantee the treaty they proposed, he declared his readiness to accept them. It is alledged

by some writers, that this prince would not have agreed to this treaty, while he had no other enemy to contend with than Inoiosa, if he had not imagined that it would be rejected by the Spanish ministers. If this was his conjecture, he was not deceived; for when Rambouillet and Savelli presented it to the governor of Milan, in full confidence that he would sign it, he told them that he was deprived of all power of making peace with the duke of Savoy, by a late order from Madrid.

The resolution of the Spaniards to maintain the predominancy of their power over the princes of Italy was heightened and confirmed by the success of their arms in Germany.

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War in
Germany.

Prince Maurice, assisted by troops from France and England, on the first of September 1610, made himself master of Juliers, which, with all its dependencies, immediately submitted to the marquis of Brandenburg, and the count Palatine of Neuburgh, known at that time by the title of the princes in possession. These princes lived upwards of two years in the same castle, and governed the states of Cleves and Juliers by their joint authority. But having quarelled at last, as might have been expected, they broke through the agreement that every thing should be done in concert, and issued edicts, not conjointly, but separately. Their mutual friends, in order to heal this rupture, advised them to cement a friendship by marriage³⁶. But this advice, widened

³⁶ Intérêts des Princes, par Monsieur de Rohan, part. i. disc. iv.

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the difference it was designed to compose. For the prince of Neuburgh, having, in consequence of this counsel, gone to demand the daughter of Brandenburg in marriage, at a feast, when his blood was warm, and his spirits high with wine, let fall some expressions, which so exasperated the elector that he gave him a box on the ear. This effectually cured the young suitor's passion for his daughter. Henceforth the princes in possession became avowed enemies, and thought of nothing but fortifying themselves against each other by strong-holds, troops, and allies. The count Palatine, by various acts of obedience, courted the favor of the emperor; and, in order to conciliate that of the Catholic league, the prince of Neuburgh married the sister of the duke of Bavaria, and the elector of Cologne. The marquis of Brandenburg, on the other hand, called to his aid the military power of the states general of the United Provinces. It is probable, that when this infant republic consented to employ its arms in defence of Brandenburg, it apprehended not any opposition from those of Spain. That monarchy, about five years before, had betrayed its inability to prosecute war, by its eagerness for peace. Since that time, it had exhibited a striking token of improvidence and languor, when it beheld without concern, at least without any exertion, the mighty preparations of Henry the Great; and the duke of Savoy had insulted it in Italy, as yet with impunity. Prince Maurice, therefore, without any apprehension of resistance from the

Spaniards, on pretence of carrying relief to the marquis of Brandenburg, prepared to extend the boundaries of the United Provinces by new conquests in the dutchies of Cleves and Juliers. Having gained the governor of the castle of Juliers, he poured into that fortress a strong Dutch garrison, without opposition. He afterwards came to fort Schenck with an army of eighteen thousand men; and penetrating into Germany, took Emmerick on the Rhine, where he placed a garrison, and many other places in the dutchy of Cleves, and the county of La Marck.

The accession of the states of Cleves and Juliers, to those of the United Provinces, would, in the issue, have extended the dominion of that republic over all the Austrian Netherlands, had not the rapidity of prince Maurice's conquests received a check from the judicious and rapid movements of the marquis of Spinola. This penetrating genius, who had strenuously supported the pacific counsels of Prince Albert at the court of Madrid, now perceived the necessity of having recourse to arms. He convinced the archduke Albert, and also the ministers of Spain, that the present was the proper time to oppose the views of that youthful state, whose successful struggle with the power of Spain had inspired ideas of ambition and new conquests. It was better, he said, at this juncture, to commit their cause to the fortune of war, and to contend for what remained of their sovereignty in arms, than to remain inactive until the power of the revolted,

Prince
Maurice
opposed by
the Mar-
quis of
Spinola.

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Siege of
Wesel.

Provinces, in the Low Countries, should be irresistible. On pretence of restoring the supremacy of the emperor and the pope over the Protestants of Aix la Chapelle, who had deposed the Catholic magistrates of that city, and banished the Jesuits and Romish priests, Spinola, assembled an army of thirty thousand men, and provided a great train of artillery. By secrecy and celerity he surprised Aix la Chapelle, where he re-established the papal jurisdiction and imperial power. Thence he bent his course to the north-east, and by this movement seemed to indicate an intention of laying siege to Juliers. But, wheeling suddenly about, he crossed the Rhine two leagues below Cologne, and, joining the troops of Neuburgh, entered Molsheim, fell down the Rhine, reduced Orfoy, and proceeded onward to Wesel, which he invested with part of his forces. The inhabitants of this place, by a constant and heavy fire, repulsed the assailants with great slaughter. But Spinola, having brought up his whole army, formed his intrenchments with so much judgment, that his troops, covered from the fire of the enemy, made their approaches with celerity and with safety. And, having planted three batteries of eight cannons, he kept up so hot a fire, that within less than two hours, one of the city-gates, and all that could oppose an entrance by that way, was reduced to ashes. The besieged, understanding that prince, Maurice and the marquis of Brandenburg were coming to their relief, determined to make a vigorous resistance. But the women mounting the walls with their children in their arms, with tears

and cries entreated them to surrender. The men, melted by the suppliant voices of their wives and screaming infants, sent deputies to Spinola to ask a favorable capitulation. This was readily granted: it was stipulated on the one side, that no change should be introduced in the religion or government of the city; that the military officers of Brandenburg should march out of the city with their baggage, arms, and warlike stores; and that the citizens should have liberty to retire and settle wherever they pleased. On the other hand, Spinola only demanded that he should be allowed to introduce into Wesel a garrison of a thousand men, there to remain until the Dutch garrison should be withdrawn from Juliers. As soon as he entered this place he began to strengthen its fortifications, and by all means to secure its possession. He built three hundred barracks near the walls, and obliged the inhabitants to furnish beds and other necessary furniture. He also increased the garrison of Wesel with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, under the command of Velasco. The inhabitants in a strong remonstrance represented to Spinola, that, according to the terms of capitulation, he was to introduce a garrison of one thousand men. Spinola sternly replied, that it was indeed agreed that he should bring into Wesel one thousand men; but that he had never promised that he would at no time increase their number³⁷. Having obliged the

³⁷ Intérêts des Princes par M. de Rohan, partie ii. discours v. Histoire du Règne de Louis XIII, et des principaux évènements, &c.

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Convenient
method of
making
conquests.

inhabitants of Duyssburgh, a city between Wesel and Dusseldorp, to admit a strong garrison, he passed the Rhine, and approached so near the camp of Maurice that the centinels of the opposite armies frequently conversed, and sometimes drank together. The prince of Orange sent a messenger to Spinola, to know in what prince's name he entered the States of Cleves and Juliers. Spinola answered, by putting a similar question to the prince.

These illustrious antagonists lay near to one another for a considerable time; but neither found an opportunity of attacking the other with advantage. And, without breaking the truce, or incurring the usual calamities of war, they had fallen on a very convenient method of making conquests, by a kind of tacit compact, to divide between them the states they pretended to protect. The United Provinces, alarmed at the success, and apprehensive of the future enterprises of Spinola, at last engaged France, England, and certain, Protestant princes in Germany to mediate a reconciliation between the princes in possession. A conference was held for this purpose at Santhen, a town which in this quarrel had remained neutral, but without effect. The articles of agreement proposed by the mediators of peace, though they would in all probability have been accepted by Brandenburg and Neuburgh, were only a subject of cavil to both Maurice and Spinola, who sought not to compose the differences of these princes, but to fix themselves in the places they had taken. Thus ended the singular campaign, which

which is not distinguished by bloody battles and splendid victories ; but whose origin and issue convey important political instruction. For thence it appears that concessions to a hostile people naturally invite them to repeat their attacks ; that the only proper time for a nation to make peace, is when the enemy desires it ; and that no state can admit within its bounds the arms of a superior power, without endangering its own independence.

A little good fortune is sufficient to revive the projects of mortified ambition. The court of Madrid elated by the successful career of Spinola in Germany, felt their resentment more and more inflamed against that daring prince who first exposed the Spanish weakness in Italy ; and not less against his feeble opponent the marquis of Inoiosa. A letter was intercepted from the king of Spain to the governor of Milan, in which he upbraided him with the remissness of his former conduct, and gave orders from that instant to make an irruption into Piedmont, before the duke of Savoy, or any others of the enemies of the monarchy, could collect their forces, dispersed in winter-quarters, to oppose him. The governor, who had received repeated orders to the same purpose, as soon as the season of action arrived, took the field at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. To this formidable body of veteran Spaniards the duke of Savoy opposed an army of seventeen thousand men, French, Swiss, and Savoyards, and those noble efforts of courage

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The success
of the Spaniards in
Germany
inflames their
resentment
and ambition.

Duke of Savoy takes the
field against
the governor
of Milan.

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1615.

and conduct with which he was wont to encounter danger, and to raise himself above misfortune. The contest which ensued proved how much the success of an army depends on the genius of one man; and how vain are the greatest military preparations, if they are committed to the conduct of an unskilful commander.

The first movements of the Spaniards, in the present campaign, indicated an intention of surprising Cortemiglia, the possession of which would lay open to their incursions the states of Piedmont on the side of Asti, Seve, and Canelli. Into this place, therefore, Charles Emanuel immediately threw three regiments of French, and eight hundred Swiss, under the command of the count of St. George. The duke himself, hastening from Turin with seven thousand men, came up with the marquis of Mantua, in his route to Cortemiglia, at the head of five or six thousand, at Bistagno, a fortress of Montferrat, situated upon a height, commanding a highway from the sea to the confines of Milan. The thick and solid walls of Bistagno, and the frequent and bold sallies of the garrison, rendered all the efforts of the duke of Savoy to reduce it under his power fruitless. In the hurry of his march he had not been able to bring up to this place more than two small cannons. He attempted therefore to scale the walls, and attack the garrison sword in hand. He was persevering in this desperate and mad attempt, when he was informed that Inoiosa was on his march for the relief of Bistagno,

at the head of a powerful army. He therefore immediately raised the siege, retreated in good order to Canelli³⁸, and thence to Asti, having perceived that thither the Spaniards bent their course. This place, before the arrival of the duke, was garrisoned with four thousand foot, and a considerable number of cavalry, under the command of prince Thomas. Here the whole forces of Charles Emanuel were now collected; and the issue of the siege of Asti, was likely to decide the fate of the house of Savoy. But the city being of large extent, and the walls in many places infirm, the duke determined to meet the enemy at the river Versa, on the banks of which Inoiosa appeared with an army of twenty-four thousand men. The rest of his forces he had thrown into St. Damiano and Ulpiano³⁹, towns of Montferat, the first not far from Asti, and the second on the verge of Turin. The duke of Savoy, with fifteen thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, opposed the passage of the Spaniards over the Versa in vain. And Inoiosa, having crossed this river with his whole army, endeavoured to gain the heights of a hilly tract which stretched in a winding course to Asti. This station he hastened to occupy, that he might thence be enabled not only to cut off the duke's retreat to that city, but to drive him out of the adjacent plain. But Charles, having penetrated his design, immediately fell back to two posts in that strong ground,

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³⁸ Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.

³⁹ Batt. Nan. Hist. della Repubblica Veneta, lib. i. 1615.

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Engagement
between the
duke of Sa-
voy and the
Spaniards
under the
marquis of
Spinola.

which he had already slightly fenced by small trenches. These posts he committed to his French and Swiss troops, forming together about two-thirds of his army, with some pieces of cannon. The Savoyard infantry he reserved to act as necessity might require, and with the cavalry he flanked his two posts in a plain immediately below them. The firm order, and deliberate valor of the Spanish troops sustaining the furious assaults of the Savoyard cavalry, and pressing up the hill which was occupied by the French, gained at last an eminence, the possession of which decided the contest. For two pieces of cannon played from thence on the enemy with such effect, that they retreated, with such confusion and trepidation to the second post, as struck a panic into the Swiss, and threw them also into a disorder that was soon after followed by a precipitate flight. The duke of Savoy, on this important day, which seemed pregnant with the fortune of his house, appeared resolute to maintain his sovereign power, or at least to prove that he deserved it. Performing the duty both of an able commander and gallant soldier, he directed the fight, brought relief to the oppressed, animated the weary, rallied the faint-hearted, and poured on those that fled the bitterest reproaches. But the terror that had seized multitudes being more contagious than the courage of an individual, though a general and sovereign prince, every effort of Charles to withstand the steady valor of the Spaniards was ineffectual. At last, yielding to

adverse fortune, but not despairing of better, by the most extraordinary exertions of courage and of art, he carried off from the scene of action five field-pieces, and part of that baggage which had been left by the Swifs.

Nothing was now wanting to make Italy tremble, but either the duke of Savoy at the head of the Spanish army; or the Spanish army under the colors of the duke of Savoy. The governor of Milan knew indeed how to fight; but not how to direct a campaign, or to improve a victory. He suffered the enemy to march unmolested to Asti. And, instead of laying siege to that city, fortified himself against the attacks of his antagonist, by the most extensive lines of circumvallation, and every possible method of defence. The distant and ineffectual bombardments of Inoiosa, the skirmishes which followed between the Savoyards and Spaniards, and the desperate but unsuccessful assault that was made by the former on the camp of the latter, might demand a particular description, were it necessary farther to illustrate the courage which was exhibited this campaign by the duke of Savoy, or that incapacity which disgraced the conduct of the governor of Milan. The Spanish troops lay for six weeks in the open air, on the hills near Asti; and the excessive heat, the unripe fruits, and the impurities of the camp, producing diseases, there ensued a great mortality both of men and cattle. Although the army had been reinforced with the troops at Sandoval, and

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others that arrived by sea, it was not half so strong as when it sat down before Asti. Charles, on the other hand, though he enjoyed more commodious quarters, experienced such frequent mutinies among his foreign troops, that it was difficult for him to determine whether they were of greater service or disadvantage. Thus both parties were in situations which inclined them to hearken to terms of peace. A capitulation was drawn up by the marquis of Rambouillet, and effectually recommended to the acceptance of the governor and the duke, by the Venetian and English ambassadors. This was not materially different from the treaty which had been framed by the pope's nuncio and the French ambassador, in the name of their respective courts, towards the end of the preceding year, in the city of Asti. Only, it gave greater security to the duke against the attacks of Spain. For it was guaranteed by the republic of Venice; and, in case of its being violated by the Spaniards, a power was assigned to the duke of Savoy, of summoning to his assistance, in the name of the king of France, the marshal Lefdiguieres, and all the governors of provinces bordering on his dominions. The French ambassador, thinking he had now accomplished the object of his embassy, returned to Paris. But no sooner had he left Piedmont than Ferdinand, whose thirst of vengeance was in proportion to the narrowness of his capacity, began to let loose all the fury of his resentment on his revolted subjects. And Charles, on the other

hand, only made a show of disbanding his troops⁴⁰, being justly apprehensive, that the late agreement between him and the governor of Milan would be disavowed by the court of Madrid. The treaty of Asti was equally violated on both sides.

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Inoiosa succeeded in the government of Milan by the marquis of Villa Franca.

When the court of Madrid was informed that Inoiosa had concluded a disgraceful war by a dishonorable peace, they were moved with great indignation. But the man whose wrath on this occasion blazed forth with the greatest fury, was Don Pedro de Toledo, marquis of Villa Franca, distinguished even in Spain by a haughty boldness, and a zeal for the glory of the monarchy. His temper was vehement, yet his understanding was at once subtle and solid, and his courage both exalted and constant. Such a character would have appeared a fit instrument for inflicting the vengeance of Spain on the duke of Savoy; although he had not been allied by blood to the house of Mantua. This man, therefore was chosen by Philip to succeed the marquis of Inoiosa in the government of Milan, and the consenting voice of the Spanish nation applauded his choice⁴¹.

⁴⁰ He very formally disbanded his French troops, but took care that they should be all of them incorporated into his Savoyard companies. As to the Swiss they could not be discharged without payment, concerning which there arose innumerable delays and difficulties.

⁴¹ A famous Italian historian (Bat. Nani), and others in deference to his authority, suppose that Inoiosa would have

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The duke of Savoy, dissembling his suspicions of the hostile designs of Spain, sent a gentleman of his bed-chamber with two letters to Toledo, in one of which he congratulated him, according to the custom of Italian princes, on his safe arrival at Milan, and in the other he described, in a pleasing manner, the mutual advantages of faithfully fulfilling the treaty of Asti. To the first of these letters the governor, with becoming politeness, replied, by returning his most humble thanks to the duke for the honor he had done him, and declaring that he would not fail to acquaint the court of Madrid with the respect and affection his highness had expressed for the Catho-

been recalled sooner, had not the duke of Lerma been afraid, by too great military successes in Italy, to defeat the project of the double marriages, which were not consummated (as has already been observed) till the end of the year 1615. But when we reflect on the great military force committed to Inoiosa, which was nearly double that of Charles; on the repeated orders he received from his court to act with expedition and with vigor; and on the attempts he made in consequence of these orders; that conjecture appears rather refined than solid. The regency of France wished for the final accomplishment of the double marriages as ardently as the court of Spain: and if they had been averse to that measure, an unsuccessful struggle on the part of Spain with the duke of Savoy would not have been the means of reconciling them to it. The appointment of the marquis of Villa Franca, at this time, to the government of Milan, seems to have been the natural result of the feelings of the Spanish ministry, on an occasion that wounded their pride, and excited their resentment.

lic king. To the other he answered, "that the true way to regain the favor of Philip, and to preserve lasting concord, was, not to think any longer on what was to be done, when both parties had their swords in their hands ⁴²." This answer, had it needed any comment; would have been sufficiently explained by the governor's common discourse, and still more by his actions. It was his common talk that the peace of Asti was a mere collusion between his predecessor and the duke of Savoy, and that a powerful king could not be tied down to the observance of a treaty with an inferior prince, by any other bands than those of his own moderation. In the mean time he did not leave Charles in any uncertainty concerning what he had to expect from his Catholic majesty's moderation; for he every day made new levies, and reinforced his army with a great number of Swiss, Germans, and Italians.

The menaces of Don Pedro did not escape from that wary politician through any intemperance of discourse. They were intended to bend the lofty spirit of Charles to a humble submission to the crown of Spain, and to prepare his mind to catch at the bait by which he hoped to govern his ambition. He insinuated to his envoy at Milan, that if the duke his master would ask pardon of Philip, and submit his pretensions wholly to his arbitration, that monarch would add to

⁴² Siri, Mem. recond. tom. iii. p. 409, 410.

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The king of
France re-
solves to
maintain
the treaty
of Asti.

the dominions of Savoy the city of Geneva. But Charles Emanuel was not unacquainted with the artifices of the Spanish court. It was but lately that they had attempted to incite the prince of Piedmont to rise in rebellion against his father, and that Toledo himself had entered into a treaty with the governor of Zuccarello to deliver that place into the hands of the Spaniards. The duke, provoked equally at the pride and insidious policy of Spain, rejected with indignation the offer of Toledo, and prepared to maintain his independency and honor by force of arms. He represented to the guarantees of the treaty of Asti the conduct and the designs of Toledo, and immediately summoned to his aid the mareschal de Lesdiguières, in virtue of that authority with which for this purpose he had been invested by the king of France. Toledo, on the other hand, inveighed against the obstinacy of the duke, and solicited Lewis to compel him to disband his troops, and to deliver the places and prisoners he had taken, into the hands of the king of Spain, promising that this monarch should afterwards take every step, not inconsistent with the dignity of his crown, to remove all jealousy of his arms. Lewis had already sent the count de Bethune, a man of capacity and singular address, into Italy, in order to accommodate those differences which disturbed the repose of that country. He now sent the mareschal Lesdiguières to join his influence to that of Bethune, hoping, that Toledo would yield to the presence, and reputation, and power

of the mareschal, what he might otherwise find means to evade. Lefdiguieres without delay went to Turin, where, in conjunction with Bethune, he framed a treaty of accommodation, which being proposed to the consideration of the governor and the duke, both parties agreed to a cessation of arms. The mareschal, having assured the duke of Savoy of his warmest support, if it should be found necessary, departed from Turin, and returned to Dauphiny⁴³.

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Mean while the duke of Monteleon, the Spanish ambassador in France, assured the court of Paris, that the views of Philip in Italy were not those of ambition, but of justice and peace. And this assurance being accompanied by arguments that spoke directly home to the wants of some courtiers, and the avarice of others, effectually changed those resolutions which had been taken in favor of Charles Emanuel. The strictest orders were issued that no troops should be levied in France, without the express commission of the king. The design of these orders was, either to oblige the duke of Savoy to give his consent to an accommodation, on terms dictated by Spain, or to render him unable to carry on a war with that nation, should he refuse it.

Intrigues of
the Spaniards
at the court
of France.

But the duke found firmer support in the wisdom and fortitude of the Venetian senate, than was to be expected from the feeble and fluctuating counsels of France. That republic levied for his service a considerable body of French troops, and

⁴³ Hist. du Connét, de Lefdiguieres.

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contributed besides, a supply of seventy-two thousand ducats a month, for the purpose of maintaining his army in Piedmont. The orders of the young king of France were in vain opposed to the gold of Venice, the authority of Lefdiguieres, the duke of Mayenne, and other chiefs who encouraged all soldiers of fortune to cross the mountains, and to join the standard of the duke of Savoy. But above all Charles was encouraged by the prospect of the duke of Nemours pouring down into the plains of Milan from the mountains of Savoy, at the head of an army of six thousand men. He was ignorant that the military preparations of this duke, was that which chiefly nourished the hope of victory in the breast of Toledo.

The duke
of Nemours
joins the
Spaniards
against the
duke of
Savoy.

Henry, duke of Nemours, chief of a branch of the house of Savoy, established in France, had been amused by Charles Emanuel with the hope of marrying a princess of his family, for not a less space of time than six or seven years. The disappointment made a deep impression on his mind, and filled him with resentment. Don Pedro, having learnt these circumstances, conceived the project of fixing Nemours in the interests of Spain, by operating at once on his ambition, and that spirit of revenge which was then his domineering passion. He insinuated to his rankling mind, through the dukes of Guise and Monteleon, that on condition of his taking up arms on the side of Spain against his relation Charles Emanuel, the Spanish monarch would reward his services with the investiture of the duchy of Savoy. The duke

of Nemours did not hesitate to close with these terms. Counterfeiting an ardent desire to maintain the independency of that sovereign family whence he derived his origin, he raised a force of seven thousand men^{**}, which he was about to lead into the heart of Savoy, while Toledo with a powerful army was ready to penetrate into Piedmont. But Charles Emanuel, having discovered the designs of Nemours, instantly sent orders to the governor of Savoy to secure those places which had been destined for the reception of the troops of Nemours. And the prince of Piedmont hastening to the northern passes of the Alps, seized the posts on the route which a body of troops was to take, that had been levied by the Spaniards in Franche Comté and Burgundy.

In the mean time the duke of Nemours had taken the field, and penetrated through lofty mountains, by rugged and difficult ways, into the valley of Sizeri. This small district yielded to the superiority of his power, without much resistance. He was preparing to improve the advantage he had gained, and to press forward upon the other territories of Savoy, when part of his troops deserted him, carrying along with them the greater part of both the provisions and ammunition. The troops that remained, being few in number, and weakened exceedingly by hunger and thirst, served as pastime to the shepherds of the mountains, who harassed and hunted them from one place to another. In this extremity the duke of Nemours implored

^{**} Batt. Nani, lib. ii. anno 1616.

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the succour of Spain, that he might be enabled to save the remains of his army from inevitable ruin by crossing the Rhone; but the Spaniards were deaf to his prayers. They even refused to send him a supply of bread and ammunition, and debarred him from the liberty of lodging his troops in Franche Comté, a province which in those days belonged to the crown of Spain. In this desperate situation he found relief in the generosity of Charles Emanuel. That magnanimous prince, at the intercession of Lefdiguieres, and other chiefs of France, pardoned his revolt, and, on the disbanding of his troops, restored him to the possession of his estates in Savoy⁴⁵.

Operations
of the new
governor of
Milan.

The governor of Milan, in expectation that the irruption of the duke of Nemours into the dominions of Charles would distract his mind, and divert his arms, drew near with thirty thousand men to the frontiers of Piedmont. And, having thrown bridges over the Tanarus and the Sesia, and fortified and garrisoned them at either end, he waited for a favorable opportunity of entering that country, his head-quarters being fixed at Candia and Villata. The duke of Savoy, on the other hand, lodged in Carefana and la Motta, in the province of Vercelli, with an army not exceeding twenty thousand. After various skirmishes with the troops of Savoy with various success, Toledo, having separated his army into two divisions, ordered one of these to pass the Sesia at

⁴⁵ Mercure François, 1616. Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.

Gattinara, and to join the other, which he was to conduct himself, near Crescentino, a town on the Po, on the confines of the principality of Vercelli and Montferrat. It was Don Pedro's design, by this movement, to inclose his enemy by the Sesia with fortified bridges and fort Sandoval on the east, by the Po with Crescentino on the south, and by taking and garrisoning St. Germano, a fortress equidistant from both these rivers. Charles was now posted in Sigliano, a place environed with lakes and morasses, and accessible only by one narrow entrance. This station the duke had chosen, as being very convenient for the relief of Vercelli, the reduction of which seemed the object to which all the steps of his adversary ultimately tended. As soon as he perceived that Toledo directed his course to Crescentino, he mounted two thousand musqueteers behind an equal number of cavalry, and passing by the Spaniards with great speed, threw succours into that town sufficient for its protection. The Spanish general in revenge ravaged the villages of Piedmont, and Charles, from a like motive, those of Montferrat.

The autumnal rains now overflowed the country on all sides, and the hostile armies lay for some days inactive, the Savoyards in Crescentino, the Spaniards in Livorno and Bianze, towns of Montferrat. The waters having subsided, Toledo, aided by the treachery or cowardice of the governor, made himself master of St. Germano, the possession of which was a considerable step

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towards the reduction of Vercelli. This important place was still his aim, though, in order to obtain it, he made a feint of marching to Crescentino. The duke constantly harraſſed his troops in flank, that by interrupting the march of his enemy, he might be enabled himſelf to pre-occupy the plain of Apertole, where he might make ſuch arrangements as would put it in his power either to give battle, or to ſtand upon the defensive. The ſubtilty of the Spaniſh commander, on this occaſion, practiſed a ſucceſſful ſtratagem againſt the artful Charles Emanuel. Toledo made ſuch a diſpoſition of his troops as ſeemed to indicate an intention of obſtructing the march of the Savoyards, even at the expenſe of a battle. Upon this the duke brought forward the flower of his army into the van, expecting every moment to be attacked in front by the enemy. But the Spaniards, with ten thouſand foot and ſome cavalry, ſuddenly made an attack on his rear, conſiſting of four thouſand French infantry and ſome cavalry, when they were filing through a wood. The Savoyards, ſtruck with ſurpriſe and terror, began to retreat in the greateſt confuſion; but the duke ſaved his diſmayed forces, if not from the diſgrace, yet from the ſlaughter that commonly purſues a flying army. He diſpatched the intrepid count of St. George to check the purſuit of the victorious enemy, with a ſelect band of five hundred muſketeers. The brave reſiſtance of the count, and the quick approach of night, enabled the French troops

troops in the service of Savoy to retreat with safety to the main body of the army.

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The duke, whose sanguine temper contemplated the bright side of every object, comforted himself under this misfortune, by reflecting, that it would revive the ancient animosities between the Spaniards and the French, and that this last nation, enraged at their late discomfiture, would retrieve at once his loss and their own honor. With these sentiments he retired to Crescentino. The season was now far advanced; and Toledo, having in vain attempted to surprise Crescentino, and finding that keeping the field served only to diminish the number and impair the health of his troops, abandoned the posts he possessed in Piedmont and Montferrat, having left garrisons only in Trino, St. Germano, and Gattinara. This last was a town which commanded a passage over the Sesia, and which had been reduced under the power of the Spaniards by Don Sancho de Luna, governor of the castle of Milan ⁴⁶.

The duke of Savoy, through excessive fatigue and agitation of mind, about this time contracted an illness, which, concurring with the rigor of the advanced season, seemed to promise on his part a respite from all hostilities. He could not take the field in person, and was even unable to walk abroad. In this irksome confinement the activity of his mind amused the tedious hours by forming various projects and stratagems of war. And,

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Illness of the
duke of
Savoy.

⁴⁶ Batt. Nani, lib. ii. 1616. Levassor. tom. iii. Merc. Franç. 1616.

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Movements
of the prince
of Piedmont.

under his present infirmities, he felt a sensible consolation in the capacity, bravery, and filial affection of four illustrious sons, who were ready to execute with fidelity and alacrity whatever he should command them to perform. The duke of Nemours having been constrained to lay down his arms, the prince of Piedmont repassed the mountains by the valley of Aosta, and conducted his troops to Ivrea. Here he received orders to lead them against Gattinara, in which was a Spanish garrison of four thousand men. The prince did not hesitate to carry the orders of the duke his father into execution. But yielding to the remonstrances of his most experienced officers, he exchanged an enterprise which appeared to be impracticable, for another which might be accomplished without difficulty, and which was not of less importance.

The principality of Masserano is bounded on the east by the river Sesia, and in every other quarter by the territories of the duke of Savoy; a circumstance which naturally placed it under the protection of Spain. Toledo, with a view to strengthen that chain by which he designed to invest and straiten Vercelli, had made an offer to the prince of Masserano to garrison his capital, and also the fortress of Crevalcor with Spanish forces. The prince, aware of the danger of such a measure, chose rather to undergo the hazard of an irruption from Piedmont than to resign the sinews of his power into the hands of Toledo. He returned the governor thanks for his proffered

aid, but expressed a hope that it would not be necessary. Toledo had in the mean time marched his troops to the banks of the Sefia, and seemed ready to pour into the territories of Masserano. In this situation of affairs the prince of Piedmont, by a concealed and forced march, surprised and invested the capital of that small state, which opened its gates without resistance. He now marched against Crevalcor, with eight thousand foot and four hundred horse. He appeared before the walls of that place on the 27th of January, and having seized all the avenues by which it might receive relief, he soon made a breach in the walls, and took the town by assault. The terrified inhabitants fled before the slaughtering sword, directing their trembling steps towards the castle. Multitudes were trodden to death in this scene of confusion and horror, and eager in the contest to enter through that narrow gate which was the only avenue of life. A very few made their way into the castle. The rest were either taken prisoners or slain by the sword.

The prince of Masserano, as soon as he learnt the hostile designs of Victor Amadeus, had implored that aid which he had formerly rejected. And the governor of Milan had immediately dispatched to his relief Don Sancho de Luna, with two thousand foot and three hundred horse; but in the mean time the castle capitulated. And, in too late an attempt to relieve it, Don Sancho, with many officers and private men, lost his life ⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ Batt. Nani, lib. ii. 1616. Merc. Franç. 1617.

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Thus the duke of Savoy contended with the power and the art of the marquis of Villa Franca not without advantage. It is however probable that all the efforts of Charles Emanuel would have been repelled in the end, by the valor, discipline, and ancient renown of the Spanish arms, directed by the genius of Toledo, if they had not been supported by the magnanimous resolution of the mareschal Lefdiguieres equally to consult his own and the glory of France, in spite of all the allurements and the threats of the misled princes, by whom it was at that time governed.

Character of
the mareschal
Lefdiguieres.

Although fortune sometimes raises the worthless and the weak to the highest offices, yet it must have been singular merit that, in times productive of great characters, could exalt a private gentleman of a very narrow fortune, to the first dignity of a great kingdom that can be enjoyed by a subject. Francis de Bonne, with a patrimony of fifty crowns a year, rose to the station of constable of France, in opposition to many rivals of noble birth and great power. He was of an agreeable aspect, a mild temper, and easy manners; qualities which were not indeed very shining in themselves, but which contributed not a little to raise the mareschal Lefdiguieres to situations in which he had opportunities of displaying the greatest talents and virtues ⁴⁸. His understanding was manly and solid; he possessed in an eminent degree the virtues of political and martial courage; and though he was susceptible both of friendship and

⁴⁸ Amelot de la Houssaie.

love, his ruling passion was ambition. The duke of Savoy cultivated the friendship of this man with uncommon attention, and practised with unwearied diligence all his address in order to gain so important an acquisition. To the mareschal Lesdiguières he showed all the respect due to a crowned head. If he received him at Turin it was with the utmost pomp and magnificence. If he addressed him in writing, he bestowed on him the endearing and flattering appellations of "good neighbour, and faithful friend." He consulted him on every occasion: and the mareschal returned his confidence and assiduities with the sincerest fidelity and affection. The attachment of Lesdiguières to Charles Emanuel was well known to the court of Spain, and they endeavoured to counteract its effects by operating on his natural ambition. The king and queen of France, at the instigation of the Spanish ambassador, attempted to seduce him from the interests of Savoy, by calling him to court in order to be invested with the privileges and rank of a duke and peer. And, that he might be enabled to support the magnificence of that character, the king of Spain offered him any sum of money he should be pleased to demand, to be paid in any part of Europe. These allurements failing of success, a supply of money was offered sufficient to raise and maintain for a year, an army of forty thousand men, with a suitable train of artillery, to be employed in making himself master of Savoy. Of this dutchy the duke of Monteleon, in name

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mous resolu-
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Lefdiguieres.

of the Spanish monarch, offered him the investiture, on condition of his assisting the Spaniards to conquer Piedmont. This temptation having been also resisted, Monteleon engaged Louis to transmit to the marshal the most peremptory orders to abstain from levying troops, and on no pretext whatever to move to the assistance of the duke of Savoy. These orders were in vain reiterated and enforced, at the desire of the feeble court of Paris, by the authority of the parliament of Grenoble. Lefdiguieres, in a letter to the king, represented to his majesty, in a firm though respectful tone, that his duty called him to restore the dignity of France in Italy, by fulfilling the engagements of that kingdom to the duke of Savoy, and chastising the perfidy and insolence of Spain. And he added, that, however treacherous counsels might beguile the good intentions of his majesty for a time, he did not despair of his present conduct meeting one day with the approbation of his sovereign⁴⁹.

On the nineteenth day of December 1616, the marshal Lefdiguieres, exhibiting a signal proof of the greatness of his own mind, and the weakness of the crown of France, set out from Grenoble, at the head of an army of seven thousand foot and five hundred horse, raised in Dauphiny by his own authority, and at the expense of the republic of Venice. Having crossed the Alps in the midst of winter, he arrived at Turin on the third day of January. Reinforced by so considerable

⁴⁹ Hist. du Connétable de Lefdiguieres, lib. ix.

a body of gallant troops, and encouraged by the presence, reputation, and aid of a great commander, whose natural abilities were matured by long experience in the military art, the duke of Savoy was elated with the hope of vindicating his own independence, and inflicting severe vengeance on that haughty court which threatened him with subjection. The united forces of Lefdiguieres and the duke were irresistible. St. Damiano, Alba, and Montiglio, with other places of inferior importance, reduced under the power of Charles, with a rapidity corresponding to the ardor of his mind, nourished his hopes of making other conquests still more important. The reduction of Montiglio is eminently distinguished, not by any noble display of generosity or courage, but by an incident extremely humiliating to man, as it reminds him how much he partakes of the nature of those ferocious and noxious animals which are the constant objects of his hostility and abhorrence. A contest having arisen concerning the garrisoning of that fortress between the French and the Savoyards, the fierce disputants, enflamed by their engagement with the common enemy, directed their unfettled fury and reeking swords against each other. Upwards of a hundred had fallen on either side, before the authority of the general, the count of St. George, was able to prevent a mutual and complete massacre. The savage thirst of blood being now excited, and incapable of being suddenly quenched, loudly demanded an inhuman gratification, and found it

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Reduction of
Montiglio,
and a memo-
rable inci-
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happened on
that occa-
sion.

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The blind-
ness of am-
bition.

in the slaughter of the garrison that had capitulated on favorable terms ¹⁰.

The discontents in France had now drawn to a crisis which threatened the crown with all the violence of civil war. These discontents Charles Emanuel, as above related, had assiduously nourished with his usual dexterity and address. But the most enlightened genius sees not far into futurity, and often the most sagacious ambition blindly labors for its own destruction. The intestine discords and commotions of France obliged the king to recal Lefdiguieres; and instantly the marquis of Villa Franca, who yielding to a torrent which could not be resisted, had resolved to confine his troops within narrow limits, and to act wholly on the defensive, renewed his attacks on the duke of Savoy, commencing his operations with the siege of Vercelli. He sat down before this important place towards the end of May, with a strong army and a very great train of artillery. When Charles was informed that the governor of Milan had begun to put his troops in motion, he was not at a loss to discover his intention; and, with a view to disappoint it, having speedily increased the garrison of Vercelli to the number of four thousand, he determined to march his army from Gabbiana, and, by reducing the fortrefs of Pontestura, to oppose, with advantage, the progress of the Spanish army. But, while he meditated this scheme, he discovered that other dangers threatened him than the siege of Vercelli.

May.
Siege of
Vercelli.

¹⁰ Batt. Nani, Hist. lib. iii. 1617.

Don Pedro, constrained to relinquish for a time all open attacks on the states of Charles Emanuel, had employed the natural subtilty of his active mind in laying plots against that prince's person and family. Different persons were suborned to cut off the duke by assassination or by poison; and a conspiracy was formed by certain French officers of the garrison of St. Ja to seize the prince of Piedmont, who commanded that fortress; and to deliver him into the hands of the Spaniards. The discovery of these ignominious plots "diverted the design of the duke

"It is remarkable, that, although there never was a people more distinguished than the Spaniards for honor and fidelity, yet there is not any period in the history of any nation more disgraced by plots and conspiracies than that which forms the subject of this narrative. When resentment, ambition, or other passions, cannot find gratification openly, and in the direct road of superior force, they have recourse to stratagem, as fully appears from the history of nations as well as individuals. Perhaps, too, ideas of superior dignity have a tendency to blunt the sense of injustice committed against inferiors. The different prices or compensations for wounds, and even for murders, that took place about eight hundred years ago in so many nations of Europe, is a striking proof how much this iniquitous sentiment naturally prevails in the human mind. There is as great injustice in wantonly maiming, or otherwise torturing, or putting to death a dog, a horse, or other animal, as there would be in wounding or destroying a man; yet there are but few whose consciences would be stung with remorse at the commission of such crimes; a matter which is to be accounted for only from that immeasurable distance which our fancy, still more than

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against Pontestura, by summoning his attention to cares more immediate and urgent. The conviction and punishment of conspirators and assassins employed that critical time which would otherwise have been occupied in preventing the siege of Vercelli, or, by plentiful stores of provisions and ammunition, to prepare it for a vigorous resistance.

The siege had not been continued above sixteen days, when the Savoyards were reduced to the necessity of supplying the place of iron balls and lead with tin and stones. The quantity of

nature interposes between men and the inferior animals, and which precludes all sympathy. A nation accustomed to think itself vastly superior in dignity to all others, and to arrogate to itself an exclusive privilege of dominion, fancies it has a right of asserting that privilege by all means, however inconsistent with justice. The inhabitants of Calais were saved from the furious resentment of Edward III. of England by the transcending virtue of six of their fellow-citizens, who devoted themselves to certain destruction for the sake of their relations, friends and companions: the condition required by that haughty and cruel conqueror. These six heroic burghesses were saved from death, not by the generosity of Edward, but by the importunity and tears of his queen. Yet this prince was profuse enough in his civilities to the French officers, who, about the same time, had fallen into his hands, although their bravery was not to be compared with that of the burghesses. Had six knights appeared before him in the guise of malefactors, instead of six citizens, he would have been shocked at the idea of ordering them to be led to execution, and have been full in his praises of their signal patriotism and resolution.

their powder also was insufficient ; nor could all the efforts of Charles encourage the gallantry of the besieged by a fresh supply. Two hundred and fifty cavalry , with sacks of powder of twenty-five pounds each , were waylaid in their concealed march to Vercelli , through the vigilance of Toledo ; and the fire of the Spaniards having been communicated to such inflammable materials , only thirty of that number made their way into the place of their destination. Two hundred and twenty horses , with their riders , miserably perished in one sudden conflagration ; yet the besieged made a gallant defence , and repulsed the Spaniards , in different sallies , with great slaughter. The assailants made a furious effort to carry the place by a general assault ; but , [if the valor of the Spaniards was animated by the love of glory and the hope of plunder , the Savoyards , anticipating in their imaginations the calamities and horrors that awaited themselves , and objects still dearer to them than life , in case of defeat , were roused with the fury of despair. The steady bravery of the besiegers gave way on this occasion to the rage which impelled the besieged ; and , in the first moment of their retreat , a hundred cuirassiers , falling with their swords in their hands into the ditch , made a dreadful carnage. Fifteen hundred men perished on the side of Spain ; on that of Savoy not a hundred. The duke of Savoy , being informed of the desperate intrepidity of his faithful garrison , was filled with all those emotions which the fidelity , bravery , and danger

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of men suffering in his cause, were naturally fitted to produce in his generous mind. He attempted, a second time, secretly to convey ammunition and provision into Vercelli; but lost by that fruitless effort four hundred men. At last, exasperated by repeated disappointment, he drew near to the Spanish camp by night, by storming, or even making a faint of storming which, he hoped to be able to succour Vercelli. Having ranged his troops along the banks of the Sesia, he sent a strong detachment over that river, in separate parties, under the marquis d'Urse, who was repulsed by a body of Spanish horse with the loss of six hundred men. This bold measure of the duke was not wholly without success; for while the Spaniards hastened to oppose the Savoyards in that quarter where d'Urse directed his attack, a thousand men, loaded with ammunition, made their way into Vercelli by another. But this scanty supply was far from being sufficient; and, besides this circumstance, the garrison was now greatly diminished by the accidents of war and the fatigues of duty. In this situation were the besieged, when Toledo, on the 5th of July, which, being the festival of St. James, was deemed fortunate for Spain, made a general assault, and effected a lodgment in a bastion, against which, from the commencement of the siege, he had principally directed the fury of his artillery. The garrison, at that instant, demanded and obtained honorable terms of capitulation; their baggage, and arms, and all the honors of war. Toledo,

having garrisoned Vercelli, and levied very high contributions on the inhabitants, marching his army along the course of the Tanarus, reduced, under the power of Spain, Soleri, Felician, and Anona, with other places, the possession of which he hoped would pave the way to the execution of an enterprize he meditated against the important city of Asti⁵².

An unexpected and tragical event in France interrupted the career of Toledo in Italy. Concino Concini and Eleanor Galigai, afterwards the mareschal and the lady mareschal d'Ancre, made their first appearance at the court of Paris in the train of Mary de Medicis, on her first arrival in that city from Florence. Their abilities and address, aided by that sympathy which men feel for their compatriots, however humble their rank of life, when in the course of Providence they accompany or meet each other in foreign lands, so gained on the favor of the indulgent queen, that she raised them to a degree of power intolerable to the nobles, and odious to the people. Depending on the queen-regent, they depended also on Spain, the great prop of her power, and were naturally devoted to the interests of a crown, which, by supporting Mary's, supported also their authority. In order to prolong the period of their borrowed power, they diverted the thoughts of Lewis, now of age, from matters of state, by encouraging him in the pursuit of those youthful

Tragical
fate of the
mareschal
and lady
mareschal
d'Ancre.

⁵² Bat. Nan. lib. iii. Hist. du regne de Louis XIII.

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Albert de
Luines be-
comes the
favorite of
the king of
France.

amusements which had hitherto occupied all his time, and engrossed all his attention. The more effectually to fix his mind in an indifference towards all political objects, they provided him with companions of his own age, whose society, they imagined, would amuse his leisure, and heighten, by sympathy, his relish for those pleasures to which he was addicted. Among these, Charles Albert de Luines, a young gentleman of Avignon, was distinguished for the handsomeness of his person, the gracefulness of his air, and the obliging politeness of his behaviour. He gained by degrees the affection and confidence of his young sovereign, and was indulged, at all times, with familiar access to his person. Concini perceived the ascendant this young favorite had acquired over the king; and, in order to attach him to himself, preferred him to the government of Amboise. But Luines, prompted by his own ambition, and encouraged by the murmurs and discontents that pervaded the kingdom, gave such an account of the conduct and designs of his benefactor, as filled the inexperienced mind of his prince with horror, and persuaded him that the preservation of his own life, as well as his power, depended on the death of the marshal d'Ancre. Vitri, captain of the guards, undertook and accomplished the bloody purpose of sacrificing the life of the marshal to the suspicions of the king. On the 20th of April the unfortunate Florentine carelessly entered within the gate of the royal palace of the Louvre, which

was instantly shut behind him, and was walking towards the apartments of the queen-regent, reading a letter as he went, when the captain of the guard arrested him, in the name of the king, and beckoned to his accomplices, who stood by him in anxious expectation of that signal. Three assassins, at that instant, poured the contents of their fire-arms into his body, which, after he had fallen dead on the ground, they spurned, and cut in different parts with their swords; but the populace, greedy of every opportunity of giving vent to the animal ferocity of their nature, and zealous of all occasions to avenge on the powerful and great the unequal distributions of fortune, dug up the mangled corpse of Concini, which had been ignominiously buried, and dragged it in horrid triumph along the streets of Paris. They afterwards, having cut it in small pieces, roasted and inhumanly devoured it; and happy was the man who could obtain the smallest morsel of the savage sacrifice⁵³.

The wretched Galigai was condemned to death, on pretence of forcery. She exerted on her trial, and in her last moments, a constancy and strength of mind, which the melting spectators compared with the fortitude of Socrates, and contrasted with those tears which, not many years before, disgraced the exit of the intrepid duke of Biron.

⁵³ Bernard, Histoire de Louis XIII. Siri, Mem. recon. tom. iv. Relation de la mort du maréchal d'Ancre. Journal de Bassompierre. Mémoires d'Amelot de la Houssaie.

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Lefdiguieres marches to the assistance of the duke of Savoy.

The authority of the queen-regent was annihilated by the stroke which cut off the mareschal d'Ancre; and Luines, who succeeded to all the power of that stranger, agreeably to the common conduct of new ministers in all nations; departed at first from the maxims, and vehemently arraigned the conduct of his predecessor. He particularly exclaimed against that uniform deference which had been shown by the former administration to the counsels of Rome and Madrid⁵⁴. In this temper was the court of France when news arrived of the surrender of Vercelli. Immediately it was resolved to succour the duke of Savoy. Lefdiguieres once more crossed the mountains with twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse. In this train were many lords and gentlemen of France, volunteers, among whom was the great duke of Rohan, at the head of three squadrons of cavalry. The orders of the mareschal were strenuously to aid the duke of Savoy in his efforts to recover his own dominions, but not to involve the court of France in a war with Spain, by insulting either the territories of Milan or Mantua. But Lefdiguieres had grander objects in view than to expel Don Pedro from the coasts of Savoy. The military reputation of the Spanish commander, instead of repressing the courage of the mareschal, filled him with an ardent desire to take the field against an antagonist whose genius and vigor would give full exercise

⁵⁴ Siri, Mem. recond. tom. iv. p. 68. Relation de la mort du m.aréchal d'Ancre. Mémoires de Rohan, lib. i.

to all his abilities and experience, and over whom a victory would be truly glorious. However, making a show of respect to his majesty's command, he ordered his troops to lay aside, for a while, the colors of France, and to wear those of Savoy.

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Don Pedro de Toledo, after the reduction of Vercelli, had distributed his army, for the purpose of refreshment, in different towns and villages of Montferrat, but chiefly in those of the province of Alexandria. In the midst of all his quarters lay the village of Feliziano, which was slightly barricadoed, and defended by two thousand men. The experienced eye of Lefdiguières quickly perceived, that by surprizing this central station, he would deprive the Spaniards of the most proper place of rendezvous in their possession, and prevent a junction of their divided forces. He communicated these ideas to Charles Emanuel. The duke was at first struck with the danger of attempting an enterprise against a place surrounded by the posts of the enemy; but Lefdiguières insisted that by a nocturnal, rapid, and unexpected march, it would not be difficult, but, on the contrary, a very easy matter to make the duke master of Feliziano; from which centre he might turn his successful arms against the other quarters of the Spaniards with great glory and advantage. Charles acquiescing in the reasoning, or yielding to the authority of the marshal, an expedition was concerted against Feliziano. Thither the combined army began to march, as

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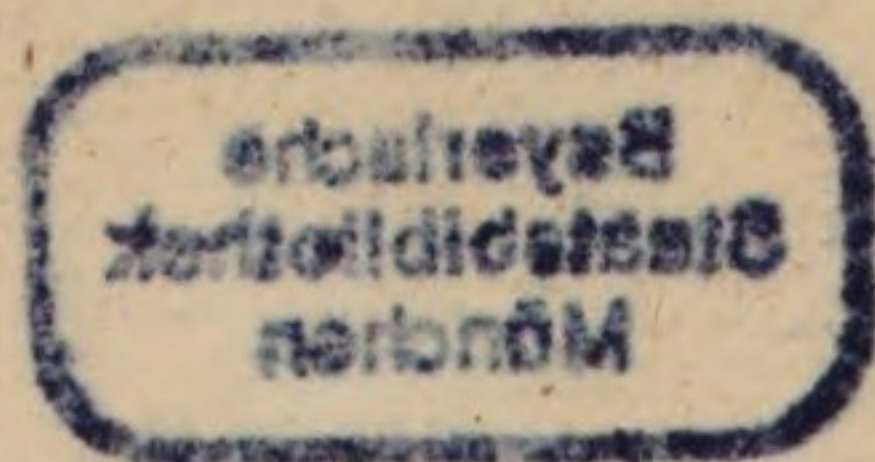
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soon as the darkness of the night favored the enterprize, in three divisions. The van was led by the mareschal Lefdiguieres, the main body by the duke of Savoy, and Shomberg, mareschal of the camp, brought up the rear with the artillery. But Charles Emanuel, taught by the reduction of Vercelli to respect the valor of the Spaniards, and the abilities of the marquis of Villa Franca, bethought himself, after the troops under Lefdiguieres had moved, that the situation and motions of the Spaniards rendered the expedition on which he had entered extremely dangerous; he therefore sent a courier to the mareschal, advising him to return on his steps. The mareschal, who, in an advanced age, possessed all the fire of youth, replied to the messenger with much emotion, "I have followed the profession of arms above fifty years without having ever turned my back on the enemy: an honor of which I am determined my conduct on this day shall not deprive me. There is more shame in retreating than danger in going on." Having said this, he jumped out of the litter in which he had hitherto been borne; and, notwithstanding some feverish symptoms that were about him, mounted on horseback, placed himself at the head of his troops, and continued his march⁵⁵. He arrived at Feliziano about the dawning of the day; and the duke of Savoy having joined him soon after with the main body of the army, which he conducted

⁵⁵ Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII. et des Evenements principaux, &c.



by a private way with astonishing celerity, the place was immediately invested, and taken by assault. All the common foldiers, and many of the inhabitants, were put to the sword. The officers were made prisoners. Not a man of Feliziano escaped with his liberty and his life⁵⁶. Quatordecì, Renfracora, Anona, Rocca, and Nice, were also quickly subdued by the united arms of Charles Emanuel and Lefdiguieres, the rapidity of whose conquests, in the space of a week, weakened the Spanish army by a loss of more than five thousand men. Don Pedro now abandoned his design of besieging Asti, and retreated from Soleri into the Milanese; all his force, vigilance, and art, being necessary to put that country in a posture of defence against the threatened irruptions of the duke of Savoy. But the duke of Monteleon having assured the king of France that Vercelli should be restored, and the treaty of Asti executed with fidelity and promptitude on the part of Spain, Lefdiguieres was recalled in the full career of victory. The marshal, having in vain remonstrated that the present juncture presented a glorious opportunity for recovering the Milanese to the crown of France, yielded obedience to the reiterated commands of his sovereign. Toledo agreed to a cessation of arms, and promised to use his utmost endeavours to effectuate an entire accommodation, and, particularly, came under an engagement to Bethune, at Pavia, the 9th of October, that, on condition

⁵⁶ Batt. Nan. lib. iii. 1617. Mém. de Rohan. liv. i.

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the places he had taken in the course of the current month, he on his part would give up Vercelli with the other places he had seized, and disarm his troops, in November. This agreement being made, the mareschal marched back to Grenoble⁵⁷. But the ministers of Spain, not satisfied with the return of the French troops into Dauphiny, remonstrated to the court of France, that the keeping on foot so great a force, so near the confines of Savoy, would be an infraction of the treaty of Asti. They declared that Vercelli would not be delivered up to Charles Emanuel, while the Swiss troops hovered in the county of Vaux; and his friend, Lefdiguieres, was ready, on the shortest notice, to march to his aid at the head of an army. Lewis, who was willing to maintain the independency of Savoy, but averse to any violent rupture with the Catholic king, not only disbanded his own troops in Dauphiny, but also urged Charles to preclude Toledo from every pretext of war, by laying down in good earnest his arms; assuring him of his warmest support and protection, in case the Spaniards should attempt, either by open force or secret artifice, to elude the execution of the treaties of Pavia and Asti. The promise of the king having been warranted, at his majesty's desire, by the superior authority and credit of the mareschal Lefdiguierer, Charles Emanuel disbanded his army. Upon this the French ambassadors, Modene and Bethune, went from Turin to the governor of

⁵⁷ Hist. du Connétable de Lefdiguieres, liv. ix.

of the duke's disbanding his army, and restoring Milan to assure him of this fact, and to engage him to imitate the duke's pacific example. They soon perceived, from his affected difficulties and evasions, not only that he had no mind to restore Vercelli, but that it was his intention to make fresh attacks on the duke of Savoy.

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Lewis, who, in the solitude of rural scenes and amusements, had hitherto concealed an elevated courage, was moved with equal indignation and surprise at the treacherous conduct of Toledo. "I am not at a loss, said he to the Spanish ambassador, to conjecture the cause to which I ought to ascribe the delays of Spain to give satisfaction to the duke of Savoy. The king, your master, thinks I dare not go out of my kingdom without leaving it full of distractions; but I wish him to know, that it is not altogether in so bad a condition as he imagines it to be; and, if my kingdom should be ruined, and my sovereignty annihilated by my absence, I am determined to cross the mountains, and, at the hazard of my life and of my crown, to fulfil my promise to the duke of Savoy, and to oblige the king of Spain to make good his word to me." The voice, the looks, and gestures of the young king, made an impression on the mind of Monteleon, which he communicated to the court of Madrid. Orders were forthwith dispatched from thence to the government of Milan, to execute with promptitude and good faith all the articles of the treaties of

The governor of Milan averse to peace.

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Asti and Pavia⁵⁸. But the court of Spain found that it was as hard a task to incline the marquis of Villa Franca to peace, as it had been to rouse Inoiosa to arms. His first excuse for not disbanding his troops was, that the Swiss regiments, lately in Piedmont, had not returned to their own country, but halted in the country of Vaux, ready to obey the nod of the duke of Savoy, from whom they still drew their usual pay. Bethune protested, in writing, that the troops of the duke were disbanded, and charged Toledo with all the calamities that might arise from his disbelief of a matter of fact, of which he might easily obtain the most undoubted evidence. The governor, driven from this ground, privately offered the duke of Savoy the greatest advantages, if he would abandon his connexions with Venice and France, and unite his interests with those of Spain. Provided that Vercelli should remain in the hands of the Spaniards, and that Casal should also be added to the state of Milan, he promised to extend the dominion of Charles over all the rest of Montferrat. This artifice having failed of success, he endeavoured to persuade the duke of Mantua to insist on a compensation for damages, and on, what he had always so much at heart, the liberty of punishing such of the subjects of Montferrat as had espoused the cause of his adversary. But neither did this stratagem succeed. He next had recourse to a contrivance which he deemed infallible. He attempted to excite the

⁵⁸ Discours de ce qui s'est passé dans le Piedmont et l'Etat de Milan, &c. Apud Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.

jealousy of the duke of Savoy by circulating whispers, that, when Ferdinand should be restored to the sovereignty of Montferrat, the house of Gonzaga would give it up to Spain, in exchange for other possessions. But Charles having disregarded these false reports, Don Pedro devised yet another expedient, which might subdue the wary but spirited duke, by provoking his indignation. His secretary, Carone, who was then at Milan along with the French ambassadors, Toledo haughtily ordered instantly to leave the territories of Spain, and to go about his business. By this artifice he surprised the mind of Charles, and gained an advantage over his understanding through the agency of his passions. The high-spirited duke, not adverting that Toledo was now practising such ingenious stratagems on his own mind, as he himself had employed when he carried on a war of wit on that of Inoiosa, instantly suspended the evacuation of the places he had taken, and sent advice to Modene and Bethune to return from Milan. The subtilty of the Spaniard (such is the advantage of making an attack!) would have triumphed over that of the Savoyard, which was equal, if not superior, had not the French ambassadors conjured the latter not to make sport to the former, who sought for nothing else than a pretext for reviving hostilities. The duke, admonished by the prudence of these ministers, restored, on the 6th of April, all the places he possessed in Montferrat: he also evacuated Zucarello, Anona, and Masserano, and every other

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fiel he had seized of the empire. His prisoners he delivered into the hands of the French ambassadors. News having arrived of all these things at Milan, the governor, equally surprised and chagrined, exclaimed, "It appears that the treaty of Asti must at last be executed, since heaven and earth will have it so."¹ He released his prisoners, and evacuated St. Germano, but still held fast possession of Vercelli.

The court of Madrid, in the mean time, had sent repeated and positive orders to fulfil all the conditions, without exception, of the treaty of Asti; and, in order to give the world a striking proof how much they disapproved the conduct of Don Pedro, they determined to recal him, and to appoint the duke of Feria his successor in the government of Milan. This intention was not kept a secret from Don Pedro, yet he persevered in the invention of new evasions. "It is not consistent, said he, with the honor of the monarchy to restore Vercelli, while the French ambassadors remain at Milan. The restitution of that place must not seem to be extorted by the threatenings of France, but to be, as it in reality is, a voluntary deed on the part of Spain." This pretext was removed by the immediate departure of Modene and Bethune. "Before I give up Vercelli, said Don Pedro, once more, I insist that Garesio, (a town of Montserrat, belonging to the count de St. George, but now garrisoned by the troops of Savoy) shall be restored to its right

¹ Bat. Nan. Hist. lib. iii. anno 1618.

owner." Garesio was restored, and Toledo, all his artifices being now exhausted, began, with proud reluctance and by slow degrees, to carry away from Vercelli the ammunition and the arms. But, after this operation was begun, he bethought him of yet another pretext for gaining time. He required a new promise from Charles Emanuel, that he would not give any occasion of offence to the duke of Mantua; but the ministers of Ferdinand, impatient of these multiplied delays, and more suspicious of Toledo himself than of any of the princes of Italy, declared in writing, to the great vexation of Toledo, that they required not any other assurances of the pacific intentions of the duke of Savoy, than those they had already obtained.

Men's astonishment at the public conduct of the marquis of Villa Franca was heightened when they remarked its coincidence with that of the duke of Ossuna.

Don Pedro Giron, knight of the Golden Fleece, and a grandee of the first class of Spain, inherited from a long line of ancestors the pride of noble birth, and the command of a princely fortune: circumstances which are sometimes indeed found in conjunction with meanness of sentiment, but which fostered that natural sublimity of imagination that carried Ossuna to pursue grand designs by extraordinary means. His temper was uncommonly fervent, and his fancy lively even to extravagance. Hence, though his understanding was quick and penetrating, his con-

Character
of the duke
of Ossuna.

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duct was neither regulated by the common maxims of policy and prudence, nor his demeanour, in the intercourses of life, by the rules of propriety and decorum. In the presence of his sovereign, he would talk with a gaiety and boldness unknown in the courts of kings, and which appeared to the sage gravity of his compatriots to border upon madness. But his conversation in all companies, and on all occasions, was adorned with a brilliancy of wit, which, in the eyes of most men, would more than compensate many levities and indiscretions. This duke is justly censured by grave historians for his gallantries, which were not veiled or palliated by delicacy of sentiment; but, on the contrary, sensual, open, and licentious. Yet that grosser species of love was attended with this advantage, that it left his mind free and disengaged, and did not interfere in any respect with his projects of ambition⁶⁰. He had served in the army in the war with the United Provinces, in a high rank, and with great glory; and his merit, as a soldier, was either the cause, or; as oftener happens in courts, the pretext for his preferment to the important station of viceroy of Naples. In this station he amazed the world with the singularity of his character, and disturbed its repose by the boldness of his ambition⁶¹.

⁶⁰ What was said of Sylla is applicable to Ossuna. *Voluptatum cupidus, gloriæ cupidior, otio luxurioso esse, tamen a negotiis nunquam voluptas remorata.*

⁶¹ Batt. Nan. Hist. della Repubblica Veneta, lib. iv. 1620. Historia de Don Felipe IV. Rey de las Españas por Don Gonç. de Cespedes. Lib. segundo, capitulo seg.

When the race of Ottoman extended their conquests from the Black Sea to the gulf of Venice, a number of the ancient inhabitants fled from the terror of their irresistible arms, to the forests and mountains on the frontiers of the countries now known by the name of Turkey in Europe. And, having acquired, from their wandering and unsettled manner of life, a ferocity of character, they gradually became careless of their herds and flocks, and subsisted chiefly by hunting and by rapine. The Uscocchi, for that is the name by which those fugitives were distinguished, were no longer that effeminate race which yielded without resistance their fertile possessions to the invasions of their enemies. Impelled by the hardships and the courage of barbarians, they made frequent inroads into the settlements of their conquerors, and satisfied their wants by plunder, while they gratified their revenge by devastation. In this vagabond state they lived for many years, wandering from place to place, still directing their course to those wild and rugged abodes which prosperous nations avoid, but which the unfortunate court as the seats of freedom. The Austrian coasts on the confines of Istria, broken by the operations of the elements into a thousand rocks and creeks, and small islands of difficult access, appeared a fit habitation to the Uscocchi: and the emperor, Ferdinand, desirous by all means, to form a barrier against the irruptions of the Turks into Hungary, bestowed on this fierce and warlike people, the strong town of Segna, which

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became their capital. In the neighbourhood of these fugitives lay the territories of a people similar in their origin, but more prosperous in their fortune⁶², whose wealth both on sea and land, invited the rapacity of men who had no other profession than that of robbers and pirates. The Uscocchi, instead of punishment for these offences, received protection from Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, within whose government Segna was situated. This produced a war between the Austrians and the Venetians. The menaces of the Turks⁶³, and the prospect of an expensive election to the crown of Bohemia, soon inclined Ferdinand to hearken to terms of accommodation with the republic, whose army, powerfully reinforced by soldiers of fortune from Holland, had invested the capital of Goritia, and reduced it to the greatest extremity of distress. The Spaniards would have willingly furnished the means of carrying on a war against a people that on every occasion strenuously opposed their domineering schemes in Italy. But their contest with Charles Emanuel fully employed all their resources, and prevented a disjunction of their forces. Yet, whatever could be done in favor of Ferdinand and the Uscocchi, was performed by the duke of Ossuna and the marquis of Villa Franca. Amidst

⁶² The Venetians found an asylum from the fury of Attila, in the insignificance still more than the natural strength of their fens and morasses.

⁶³ Winwood's Memoirs, vol. iit. A letter from sir Dudley Carleton, dated Venice, 27th February, 1612.

the heat of the campaign in Piedmont, Toledo kept up a considerable military force near the Venetian borders, and made other preparations which seemed to threaten a diversion in favor of the Austrians. This, the truce with the duke of Savoy brought about by the marshal Lesdiguiers, enabled him afterwards to accomplish. While Don Pedro, by his menaces, and by his attacks on the Venetians by land, endeavoured to relieve the Austrians; Ossuna, by various operations at sea, and with great success, labored for the same end. By his orders, a Spanish fleet cruised in the Mediterranean, in order to intercept any succours that might be sent to the republic by that channel; while another interrupted the sources of their wealth and power, by seizing their merchant ships in the Adriatic. These were brought in triumph into the port of Naples, which became the rendezvous of corsairs and pirates. Here, such of the Uscocchi as had been driven from their strong holds on the Austrian coast, found freedom of trade and personal protection. The profuse genius of Ossuna did not afford shelter to the Uscocchi and other pirates that he might share in their plunder, but that he might collect a sufficient number of desperate men for the execution of any daring enterprise. In the mean time, the Neapolitan merchants found means of representing to the court of Madrid, that the piratical trade which was now carried on at Naples, had ruined fair commerce, and of course diminished the royal revenues. Happily

B O O K for the Neapolitans, their complaints coincided
v. both in time and intention, with the remon-
1618. strances of France. An order was dispatched to
 all the Spanish ministers in Italy to suspend hosti-
 lities, as a negociation was now on foot for a ge-
 neral peace between Savoy and Spain, and the
 Venetians and Ferdinand of Austria.

The marquis of Bedmar soon after paid his compliments to the Venetian senate on its happy conclusion “; and Toledo withdrew the troops he had sent into the states of the republic, into the territories of Milan. But Ossuna, enraged at the very name of peace, sent a fleet into the Adriatic, under the command of the famous admiral Rivera, and denounced immediate death against the man who should dare to complain to the court of Madrid of the interruption of commerce. Both this fleet and that which was sent to oppose it from Venice, after a slight encounter, were dispersed by a storm. The Spaniards took shelter in Brundisium, the Venetians in St. Croce, a port which they had occupied for some time, with a view to prevent Ossuna from fortifying, as he threatened, several rocks on the confines

“ It was agreed that the Venetians should restore their conquests without reserve: and on the part of the Austrians, that they should restrain the piracies of the Uscocchi; banish their ringleaders, and also the banditti of the republic that lived among that people; that they should change the governor of Segna, and bridle that place by a German garrison; and finally, that they should give up all the captures of Ossuna.

of Ragusa , a small republic protected by the
 Turks. The Ragusans , a commercial people,
 were naturally disposed to give every encourage-
 ment to a power that disputed the empire of the
 Adriatic with a nation whom they had long con-
 sidered as their oppressors : accordingly , they
 had received , at different times , Ossuna's fleets
 into their harbours , and both refreshed them
 with provisions , and recruited them with sailors.
 The Venetians now chastised this avowed partial-
 ity for their enemies ; and the Ragusians com-
 plained of their conduct , and represented their
 designs as dangerous to the Ottoman port. A
 military force was immediately stationed along
 the coasts of Dalmatia and Albany ; and Ossuna,
 taking advantage of this circumstance , endea-
 voured to spread , throughout all the Italian states,
 the terror of a Turkish invasion. The best pos-
 sible expedient on this alarming occasion , he said,
 would be to strengthen his hands with such a na-
 val force as might be sufficient to defend the li-
 berties of Europe , and raise , among the Infidels,
 the name of Christians. But the vigilance
 of the Venetian senate , discovered that at this
 very time Ossuna was practising on all the passions
 which usually determine the public conduct of
 the Porte , in order to draw the fury of their
 arms upon the island of Candia , at that time sub-
 ject to the dominion of the republic. This fact ,
 announced to all the courts of Europe , con-
 founded the subtilty of Ossuna , and left him , for
 a short time , without the resource of a single

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stratagem. The Spanish fleet in the mean time, and numbers of privateers, continued to plunder the ships, and to ravage the coasts of Venice. The pope, and the ambassadors of France, interposed their good offices with Ossuna, in behalf of the republic, in vain. Philip himself, by letters written with his own hand, commanded him to abstain from all hostilities, and to restore all that he had taken from Venice. His Catholic majesty had not better success than his holiness and the count de Bethune. Ossuna offered, indeed, in consequence of the orders of the king, to restore the empty vessels, but declined to give back their valuable freights. He continued his piracies and depredations, deigning, however, to cover his disobedience to the commands of the king, by those excuses which the various course and accidents of war readily suggest to the imagination of an ingenious commander. "It is not fit, he would say, at one time, that I should sit still, while the Venetians are fortifying the harbour of St. Croce." "I will persist, he would exclaim with vehemence at another, in my present conduct so long as the Venetians shall retain in their pay the most inveterate enemies of the king my master." When he was ordered to deliver an account of the merchandize he had seized, he seemed to sport with the orders of Philip, by giving an inventory so imperfect as the Venetian ambassador refused to accept, and even complained of the mockery. The Venetians, thus plundered, and insulted, equipped a fleet, which retaliated

retaliated on the Spaniards all the piracies and depredations of the viceroy of Naples: but, at the same time, the senate regretted the necessity they were under of defending themselves by making such reprisals. To the marquis of Bedmar, the Spanish ambassador, they complained of the never-ceasing hostilities of Ossuna, and professed themselves at a loss to reconcile the actions of the viceroy of Naples, with the declarations of the court of Spain. The ambassador, in reply, touched with an imposing delicacy on the irregularity of Ossuna's disposition, and insinuated that the conduct of that duke was neither under the control of the king, his master, nor of any fixed principles or regular system of action. In reality, the behaviour of Ossuna seemed to furnish matter for such an apology, while he directed the Spanish arms, in spite of repeated orders from his sovereign, against a state with whom he had not declared war; and constantly meditated hostile designs, of which he talked without reserve to all around him, although, from their nature, the utmost secrecy was necessary to their execution. His conversation turned wholly upon surprising the Venetian ports in Istria, plundering their islands, and even making a descent on Venice. He had himself carefully studied the plan of that city, and he now described it with infinite accuracy to all who possessed his confidence. He contrived flat-bottomed boats, with machines to facilitate their motion, and made daily experiments of the weights which the several depths of

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water were capable of bearing, according to the different constructions and dimensions of vessels. To the Venetians, transactions so open and avowed, were a subject of laughter, and gave weight to the defence which had been made for the viceroy by the marquis of Bedmar. They were ignorant that the hostilities, of which they complained, proceeded from the secret machinations of this minister himself, which were more effectually concealed by the extravagance and apparent folly of the duke, than they could have been by the most studied secrecy and circumspection “.

The princes and states of Italy, enervated by luxury, or employed in commerce, committed themselves to the protection of mercenaries “. distinguished by the name of Leaders of Bands “.

Frequency
of plots and
assassinations,
accounted
for.

The transition was not unnatural from mercenary soldiers to private assassins. The military and generous spirit of ancient Rome was subdued by despotism and by luxury; and throughout the whole of Italy, broken into innumerable principalities by the dissolution of the Roman empire, the petty sovereigns had recourse on all occasions to stratagems and plots, not the valor of arms. And, as customs and manners always descend from the higher to the lower ranks of men, plots and assassinations became common among the

“ Batt. Nan. lib. iii. 1617. Conjuratiſon des Eſpagnols, etc. par M. L'Abbé St. Real.

“ Nicol. Machiavelli, Storia Fiorentina, lib. i.

“ Condottieri.

people as well as their princes. Conspiracies, together with other practices and arts, were diffused from Italy over other parts of Europe; and especially over those countries between which and Italy there was a close intercourse and connexion⁶⁸. It is the nature of every passion to tend as directly as possible towards its object⁶⁹. The love of power, and the desire of revenge, wait not the slow process of conspiracies, nor trust to their uncertain issue, when they can gain their end by the plain and direct road of superior force. It was a proof of the decline of Spain, that she adopted a practice, founded in fear and weakness. But

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Spanish
conspiracy
against Ve-
nice.

⁶⁸ It is confessed, that plots and assassinations are to be found in the history of all nations: yet it will readily be allowed, that these are more frequent in that of modern Italy than in the accounts we have of any other country, if the reign of Philip III. of Spain does not form an exception to this position. As writers commonly chuse for the subjects of their productions, things not wholly unknown, but which they suppose to need new proofs and illustrations, so the famous Machiavel did not interweave into his political system, those dishonorable artifices which set all justice and fidelity at defiance, from a mischievous originality in his own mind. He laid down rules for conspiracies, because conspiracies were in every body's mouth, and every where practised. To plan and accomplish an ingenious plot, formed, in his time, a branch of political education. Archbishop Spotswood, in his History, relates, that when he visited the earl of Gowrie, who formed a conspiracy against James VI. king of Scotland, he found him reading a Latin book de Conjuratibibus. The earl had been a professor of philosophy in Italy, from whence he had just returned.

⁶⁹ Unde feritur eo tendit gestitque coire. Lucret.

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Character of
the marquis
of Bedmar.

of all the conspiracies or plots which were formed or connived at by the Spanish ministers, in this or any other period, that which was framed against the republic of Venice, by Don Alphonso de la Cueva, marquis of Bedmar, was the most remarkable, and the most important, whether we have respect to its end, or to that complicated machinery by which it was to be accomplished. That the marquis was a person of very extraordinary abilities sufficiently appears from this circumstance, that, at a time when the cabinet of Madrid had an option of distinguished abilities, he was appointed ambassador in ordinary at Venice, of all the courts of Europe the most refined in its politics and determined in its counsels. From an intimate acquaintance with ancient as well as modern history, which he read with the eyes of a philosopher and statesman, and much observation on the scene of human life, in which he was at once an important actor and judicious spectator, he acquired a sagacity to which the council of Spain looked up with an almost superstitious veneration. To a deep insight into the nature of political affairs, he added those qualities that are so requisite in a practical politician; a facility of speaking and writing with inexpressible grace; a quick discernment of characters; an air and manner always frank and unreserved; and at the same time such force of mind, that under the most trying feelings of the heart, and the severest agitations of the passions, he betrayed not the smallest symptom of perturbation,

but on the contrary retained the most unequivocal appearance of perfect serenity⁷⁰. With these qualities, which distinguished his character, he possessed in an eminent degree another, which is common to all Spaniards; a zeal for the glory of the monarchy and the honor of the Spanish name. This had of late undergone an eclipse, and the marquis was willing to revive its lustre by the total ruin of a power that had contributed so greatly to its decay, the republic of Venice. He was invited to attack this state by various circumstances; the war with the Austrians had drained Venice both of arms and men; the fleet was confined to Istria, the seat of the war; the land army was equally distant; the exigencies of war had occasioned the most oppressive taxes, which, as the people suspected, were not wholly applied to the public use: the marquis, therefore, persuaded himself that the revolution he had planned would not only be practicable, but to the generality of the people, acceptable; nay, of the nobility, not a few were discontented with the government, and rejoiced in all the misfortunes of the state, as the effects of measures which they had disapproved. The more necessitous of that order, the marquis knew by experience, might be prevailed on, if not to act a part in the tragedy, yet to give such intelligence as might in reality promote the catastrophe of Venice. Another ground of encouragement was, that the flower of the Venetian army consisted of

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⁷⁰ Conjuración des Espagnols, etc. St. Real.

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Hollanders and Walloons, mercenaries, whose officers he trusted might be seduced by the powerful allurements of gold, to betray the cause of Venice, and to espouse that of Spain. The fleet of the republic was indeed formidable, but there too he hoped to make dreadful havoc with the same weapons he proposed to employ in weakening the Venetian army. It only remained, that he should attach to his person, and to the terrible object he had in view, a sufficient number of determined confidents, by means of whom he might combine the efforts of thousands in a scheme, with the nature of which they were not to be intrusted until the moment of execution. He imparted his project to the marquis of Villa Franca, and the duke of Ossuna. These ministers were delighted with the novelty and the boldness of his ideas, and without hesitation promised to contribute all in their power towards its accomplishment. It does not appear that he communicated his design to the court of Madrid; but he was sufficiently acquainted with the ideas of ambition that still reigned in the council of Spain, to know, that if the project should be carried happily into execution, of which he did not entertain any doubt, it would meet with their hearty applause and admiration. But while this project was ripening by degrees, the court of Spain was obliged, by the vigor of the young king of France, to make gradual advances towards a general peace in Italy. This would have disarmed the troops of Spain,

and deprived the conspirators of those instruments with which they hoped to subject to the monarchy the states of Venice. Hence the various artifices of Toledo and Ossuna to prolong the war, and to prevent a final accommodation of differences. The marquis had by this time entered into the most intimate correspondence and confidence with a number of men, who, confiding in the transcendent powers of his mind, and contemplating the mighty rewards that were exhibited to their view, were ready to execute his orders with promptitude and alacrity. These men were highly distinguished from the multitude, by constancy in the most trying situations, by unshaken fidelity to their engagements, and by a bold and daring courage. Nothing was wanting to entitle them to the highest degree of praise, but the exertion of these virtues in a worthy cause.

The principal arrangements in this conspiracy were these: fifteen hundred veteran troops, chosen from the Spanish army in Milan, by Don Pedro himself, were to be introduced into the city of Venice, not in a body, but a few at a time, and unarmed. They were to receive arms from the marquis of Bedmar. But lest any unforeseen accident should mar the intentions of Toledo, five thousand Hollanders, who lay at the Lazaretto, not above two miles distant from the city, were ready to be introduced, man by man, at first, and afterwards, in the tumult and confusion that was expected to ensue, in a body. Brigantines and barks were to be sent from Naples into the

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channels and ports of Venice, having on board six thousand men. A number of large ships were afterwards to cast anchor on the shores of Friuli. Under the countenance of the latter, and amidst the confusion and horrors to be excited by the former, the conspirators were to act their several parts in the intended tragedy: one was to set fire to the arsenal, others to different parts of the city; some were to take possession of the mint; some to seize the principal places of strength; and the part allotted to many, was, to annihilate the constitution of Venice by murdering the senators. Artillery was to be drawn up to the highest eminences, for the purpose of laying the city in ruins, in case the inhabitants should attempt resistance. Field-pieces were to be disposed in different quarters of the city, pointing into the principal streets. And as it was necessary to be in possession of some inland town in the territories of the republic, which might serve as a barrier against the return of the Venetian land-army, if called to Venice to oppose the conspirators, and as a magazine for the Spanish army, Don Pedro held a close correspondence with certain officers of the garrison of Crema, who were to betray that town into the hands of the Spaniards. Another plot was yet necessary to give full effect to the grand conspiracy. A port was to be occupied in the Venetian gulf, which might receive the Spanish fleet, if, by any accident, it should be obliged to seek a retreat, when employed in that sea. There is a place of considerable strength, called Marano, in

an island bordering upon Istria, with a harbour capable of receiving a large fleet. The officer second in command in the garrison of Marano engaged to assassinate the governor, whenever he should receive orders from Toledo, and to hold the town in the name of the Spaniards ⁷¹.

Such was the complicated scheme formed for the destruction of the renowned city and republic of Venice: a scheme which involved in its nature whatever human ingenuity could plan, or the courage of man dare to execute, but which failed of success from some of those unforeseen accidents that so often happen to intimidate the hearts of assassins, and to disconcert the projects of conspirators ⁷².

A conspiracy so important in its end, and at the same time so various in its means, does not occur in history. That of Catiline against the Roman republic, pointed to equal horrors, and to a still greater revolution; but the means by which he hoped to accomplish it were more simple, and consequently less absurd than those employed by

⁷¹ Conjuraton des Espagnols, &c. St. Real. Conspiracy & Trahison admirable des Espagnols, &c. en 1618. Histoire du Connét. de Lefdiguieres, liv. ix. Bat. Nani, Historia della Republica Veneta, lib. iii. 1618.

⁷² The abbé St. Real says, that the conspiracy was discovered by one of the conspirators, who was struck with horror and remorse at the intended ruin and bloodshed: Battista Nani, that it was discovered by two French gentlemen, who had come to the knowledge of it, relations of marechal Lefdiguieres.

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the bold imagination, rather than the solid judgment of the marquis of Bedmar. It was probably in imitation of that circumstantial and interesting narrative which the Roman historian has given of the Catilinarian conspiracy, that the eloquent and profound Saint Real composed his beautiful account of the Spanish conspiracy against Venice. This copious narrative, though heightened in some instances by the colorings of poetry, and the circumstantiality of fiction, is yet true in the most material particulars, and serves, in the words of the author to display the "power of prudence over human affairs, and the dominion of fortune; the extent of the limits of the human mind, its greatest strength, and its secret frailties; the numberless considerations to which the politician must attend, who aspires to govern his fellow men; and the difference between true and false refinement." It is this last reflection which perpetually recurs to the reader, and strikes him with peculiar force. Nothing but the extravagance of hope, and the blindness of passion, could have seduced the judgment of Don Alphonso de la Cueva, to believe that he should be able, by any efforts of genius, to combine into one harmonious machine, so many and such various springs. The various ideas and corresponding emotions and passions which rise in the mind on different occasions, and in different circumstances, render the views and designs of men fluctuating and uncertain. The smallest incident in health or fortune, is sufficient to shake

a resolution big with danger and death. The minds of men are so delicate, refined, and variable instruments, that a thousand accidents disturb their operation. The most fortunate adventurers in life, are those who do not pretend to form, but who have vigilance and sagacity to improve conjunctures. Political revolutions are not to be effected by the subtilties and refinements of a genius profound and metaphysical; but by the boldness and dexterity of a Cæsar or a Cromwell, who know to seize the important moment of decisive execution.

But if so vast a project as the conspiracy against the city and republic of Venice, had not been altogether beyond the reach of human abilities, it might possibly have been accomplished by the united efforts of Toledo, Ossuna, and the marquis of Bedmar. Though the revenues of Spain were greatly diminished, and a manifest languor and irresolution appeared in her counsels, her military genius was yet entire and unbroken; nor in the history of any people is there to be found a greater compass of political ability and art than at this time distinguished the Spanish nation. While the ministers of Spain in Italy, by the most extraordinary efforts to support or retrieve the glory of the monarchy, signalized at least their own ingenuity and courage, the abilities of her ambassadors generally managed the courts at which they resided with equal dexterity and success. The ties of interest and blood, which united the two

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the Spanish
nation.

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 V. praises that are due to the abilities of the Spanish
 1618. ministers at the courts of Ferdinand and Matthias.
 But in France, Monteleone knew how to adapt his
 tone to the timidity of Mary, the high spirit of
 Lewis, and the different passions and views of their
 respective favorites. And in England, Gondomar
 gained mightily on the favor of the pedantic, so-
 cial, and impolitic king, by talking false Latin ⁷³,
 with other facetious humors, and by amusing him
 with the hope of a marriage between the prince
 of Wales and the second infanta ⁷⁴.

⁷³ Mr. Arthur Wilson, in his Life of King James, in-
 forms us, among other curious anecdotes of that good-natu-
 red monarch, that "Gondomar in his merry fits would tell
 the king that his majesty spoke Latin like a Pedant, but that
 he himself spoke it like a gentleman." The king, we may
 presume, accepted this as a high encomium. There was
 nothing in which James exulted so much, as in that supe-
 riority which he undoubtedly possessed over most of his
 courtiers, in literature. "Sir Edward Conway, says Mr.
 Wilson, governor of the Brille, one of the cautionary towns,
 was made by king James, secretary of state: a rough unpolish-
 ed piece for such an employment! But the king, who want-
 ed not his abilities, would often make himself merry with
 his imperfect scrawls in writing, and hacking expressions in
 reading, so that he would break into laughter, and say, had
 ever man such a secretary, that can neither read nor write?"
 Gondomar had perfectly understood the character of the
 king: and he practised on his weaknesses with infinite
 dexterity.

⁷⁴ Franklin, p. 71.

A war with the Saracens, prolonged, with few intervals, for eight hundred years, nourished in the Spaniards a vigor of character, a love of their country, and a passion for glory. The necessity of continually engaging, formed as many heroes as there were men in each city: military renown was the great object of their vows; and the tombs of the deceased were adorned with a number of obelisks equal to that of the enemy they had slain in battle ⁷⁵. While they lived exposed to continual dangers they acquired that gravity of deportment, that deliberate valor, that perseverance and vigilance which still distinguish the Spanish nation. Before the ambitious and warlike reigns of Ferdinand, the emperor, and Philip II. the sagacity and vigilance of the Spaniards appeared formidable to the other nations of Europe ⁷⁶. These reigns continued to call forth and exercise the spirit of the nation, and to support, if not to heighten, that national character which had been formed by the wars with the Moors. And this national character still shone forth with undiminished lustre after the imprudence

⁷⁵ Johannes Genesius Sepulveda de Rebus Gestis, Caroli V. lib. i.

⁷⁶ Machiavel says, in his Account of the State of France, that the French were afraid of the Spaniards on account of their sagacity and vigilance. It is true, that this account was written after Ferdinand had begun to reign: but it was before the exertions of that prince could have stamped on the minds of his subjects, a national character.

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of the court, and exhausted resources, had undermined the foundations of the grandeur of the empire. As prosperous war rouses the genius of a nation, the glory of letters would have corresponded to that of the Spanish arms, had not the progress of taste and knowledge been checked by the tyranny of the inquisition, and that despotism which was introduced into the government. But although these circumstances have prevented among the Spaniards the growth of sound philosophy, in their poetry, history, romances, and even their commentaries on the sacred scriptures, as well as on Aristotle, whose metaphysical notions were deemed so orthodox by the Catholic church, we recognise that boldness and invention, that subtilty and refinement which were conspicuous for ages in the military and political conduct of Spain.

Thus, that power of genius and valor among his subjects, which at once adorned and disgraced the feeble reign of Philip III. seems deducible from a train of moral causes, as obvious in their existence as powerful in their nature. But when the reader revolves what is left on record concerning ancient Spain, he will be inclined perhaps to subscribe to the opinion of an ingenious writer, that the characters of nations as well as families, are influenced by accidents antecedent to birth⁷⁷, and particularly by climate, acting either immediately with powerful energy on the fabric of

⁷⁷ Essays on the History of Mankind, &c. by Dr. Dunbar.

their being, or as a local circumstance leading to a variety of action in the economy of civil life. At all times, valor and genius have ennobled the character of the Spaniards. Not the robust German, impelled by the fury of a savage religion, displayed such enthusiasm in arms and contempt of death, as shone forth in the invincible resolution of the inhabitants of Numantia, Astapa, and Saguntum. A greater hero than Viriatus is not to be found in the history of ancient Rome⁷⁸. Between the times of the Scipios and those of Augustus, there intervened a period of two hundred years. During this long space, Spain maintained a contest with the policy and disciplined valor of Rome: and it seemed uncertain which masters the world was to obey, the Spaniards or the Romans. The destiny of Rome to give law to the nations finally subdued all resistance, and Spain had the glory of being the last that yielded to the Roman yoke. But it was the fortune of the vanquished to receive literature and refinement from the conquerors of the world: and in return, Trajan added lustre to the Roman purple; and the names of Quintilian, Martial, Mela, Seneca, Lucan, and Florus, appeared in the list of Latin authors.

⁷⁸ This man, who had resisted the Roman arms for twenty years, and who was deemed invincible, was at last insidiously cut off by the Romans, who bribed his bodyguards.

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The duke of
Savoy and
the Venetians
maintain
their inde-
pendence.

All the valor and artifices of Spain were found unable to subdue the independence of the duke of Savoy and the Venetian republic. And the discovery of Bedmar's conspiracy was quickly followed by the restoration of Vercelli to the duke, and that of their ships and merchandize to the Venetians. The court of Madrid at the desire of the senate, recalled de la Cueva; but a commission to act as first minister in the Netherlands, a department which the situation of affairs in Germany rendered equally difficult and important, proved how much they approved his designs, as well as confided in his abilities.

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HISTORY
OF THE REIGN OF
PHILIP THE THIRD,
KING OF SPAIN.

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THE astonishing efforts of that extraordinary triumvirate Bedmar, Ossuna, and Villa Franca, to restore the predominancy of Spain in Italy, was an eruption of that ardent spirit which had been bred in times of national enterprise and prosperity. The monarchy, drained of its blood and spirits by emigrations, and by war, was in a state of languor which naturally sought for repose. To maintain the dignity of the Spanish nation in that languishing state, was the arduous task devolved by the feeble hands of Philip on the duke of Lerma. That pacific and prudent minister, unwilling to expose the weakness of the empire, avoided as much as possible all appeals to arms, and it was not without reluctance that he drew the sword which he had sheathed at Antwerp, in the dispute concerning the succession to Juliers, and in the contest with the duke of Savoy. It was his chief study to support the

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Internal
policy of
Spain.

authority of Spain by intrigue, and by external magnificence and profusion. The court of Madrid was the most brilliant in Europe: and a veil of pomp and splendor thrown around all the departments of government concealed from the vulgar eye the symptoms of its decay¹. The duke also made some attempts to recruit the vigor of the state, as well as to hide its infirmities, by reviving agriculture, and protecting commerce.

The frequent examples of immense and rapid fortunes, made in the Indies, inspired a contempt of tillage, the profits of which, though certain, were both slow and inconsiderable. Until the fatal year 1609, Spain possessed a remedy against this evil. The Morefcoes, excluded by the laws from America, and from the profession of arms, were not only expert manufacturers, but skilful and industrious husbandmen; but their expulsion was followed by a still more general neglect of agriculture, and a scarcity of the necessaries of life punished the people for the bigotry of the court, and their own indolence. The duke of Lerma, in order to repair the loss of the industrious Saracens, issued an edict, offering an order of nobility² to every man who should give proofs of industry and skill in agriculture. It is remarkable that this measure, the propriety of which seemed to be founded in the national passion for lofty titles, was altogether fruitless. An exemption from all military service was then

¹ See Appendix C.

² The title and rank of Esquire. *Les Délices d'Espagne & de Portugal*.

promised to all industrious men; but neither had this proffered indulgence any considerable effect. A great part of the land still lay waste, and in the succeeding reign, strangers were invited to cultivate the fields of Spain, with several advantages of great importance.

The commerce of the Spaniards in the Mediterranean having been disturbed by the corsairs of Barbary, Don Lewis de Faxarado received orders to build a strong fort on the gulf of Marmora. This was happily effected in the month of August 1613, and contributed not a little to scour the sea from pirates³. But commerce still languished as well as manufactures and agriculture, and the exactions of a government profusely expensive, were severely felt by the oppressed people. Nor were the exigencies of the public the only source of those taxes which afflicted the nation. The minister amassed an immense fortune from the spoils of the people. From the island of Sicily alone he drew an annual revenue of as much wheat as, being converted into money, amounted to seventy-two thousand ducats. This he obtained from his easy master, in the name of a reward for his important services. Even the good qualities of the duke multiplied the oppressions of his administration. His love of splendor and magnificence, his liberalities to his servants, his dependants, and to all men who had recourse to his bounty, rendered his paternal inheritance wholly inadequate to

³ Summarium de Rebus Hispaniæ. Mariana.

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Don Roderigo de Calderona.

his constant profusion, which he supported at the expense of the public. The great offices of state too, he either seized himself or bestowed on particular favorites. And although caution and prudence are qualities generally and justly ascribed to the duke of Lerma, in the distribution of offices he was not always governed by motives of policy, but sometimes those of personal attachment. But of all his favorites the chief was the famous Don Roderigo de Calderona, whose singular fortune and fate demand particular attention. He was the son of a poor soldier of Valladolid, and Mary Sandelen, a native of Flanders. He possessed fine talents, and there was something highly interesting and engaging in his manner. He entered on the career of ambition in the character of a menial servant to the duke of Lerma, then marquis of Denia, and gained over the mind of his master such an ascendant as that favorite possessed over the mind of the king. Having risen through all the principal offices in the household of the duke, he was advanced by the unbounded favor of his patron to places of great power and trust in the state, created first count of Oliva, then marquis of Siete Iglesias, and acquired an estate of a hundred thousand crowns a year. Agreeably to the natural progress of human wishes, Calderona considered all the favors of fortune only as so many steps to farther preferment. He openly aspired not only to a vice-royalty, but to the rank of a grandee of Spain. He was at first ashamed of

the meanness of his descent, and affected to conceal it: a frailty to which he afterwards showed himself far superior, by receiving his father into his family, procuring for the old soldier offices of emolument as well as honor, and treating him throughout life with the greatest tenderness and respect. Though he had risen from the lowest rank of life, there was nothing in his behaviour unworthy of the highest birth. The dignity both of his sentiments and manners was such as might beseem a prince. The vanity of Calderona which had made him ashamed of his father, was now converted by an excess of prosperity into a haughty boldness and overbearing pride. His temper, naturally violent and impetuous, was unrestrained by any of those condescensions and regards, which were so necessary in his situation, to sooth jealousy and disarm the rancor of envy. He mingled in all the intrigues at court; he delighted in the exercise of power; his favor was the surest road to preferment, and this he distributed, for the most part, according to his own fancy and caprice, and without any regard either to merit or natural pretensions. He had audiences as if he had been a sovereign prince, held frequent consultations, and shared in one word, the administration of public affairs with the duke of Lerma. The haughtiness and impetuosity of Don Roderigo was contrasted by that decent moderation which appeared in the whole conduct and deportment of his father. This man frequently told his son, that his bark, which

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had so little ballast, if he should continue to crowd sail, would infallibly be overfet in a storm: a prediction which was afterwards fatally verified *.

The nobles of Spain, whose power and influence had been reduced in the two preceding reigns, from the highest to the lowest pitch, were called to the court of Philip III. and many of them enjoyed important political stations. But during those reigns the order of nobility, if it was depressed by the vigor and the tyranny of the court, had not the mortification to see any subject exalted so far above them in the royal favor as to possess in reality the power of the sovereign. To the grandees of Spain, a favorite was a hateful novelty, and the immoderate aggrandizement of Calderona seemed a studied insult on nobility of blood. Nor was the present administration distinguished by any prosperous events which might drown the general murmurs of discontent in the voice of applause and acclamation. The prime minister was accordingly a general subject of satire and invective, both in discourse and in writing. The complaints of the nation served as an engine in the hands of his enemies to effect his downfall, which was embittered by this cruel circumstance, that his power was subverted by those very men who were the most bound, by the ties of blood, or of gratitude, to support it.

* Gonç. de Cespedes, lib. i. capitulo vii. Amelot de la Houssaie, Discours historique, p. 142. Las Memorias, &c. con Escolios de Don Juan Vitrian, 11. 13.

Having risen to the highest power attainable by a subject, and having no farther object of ambition, the duke of Lerma only labored to establish the authority he possessed in the councils of Spain, on the firmest foundations, and to perpetuate it, if possible, in his family. With this view he introduced his son, the duke of Uzeda, at proper times, into the presence of the king, and used every art to recommend him with effect to the royal favor. And, well knowing that the influence he possessed on the mind of Philip might be either strengthened or overcome by any argument that should make its appearance in the guise of religion, he brought Lewis Aliaga, a monk, from his convent to court, and advanced him to the office of confessor to the king. Aliaga was a man of a narrow capacity, and the duke entertained a high opinion of his probity. From a character of this kind he imagined he had nothing to apprehend. And, as the monk owed every thing to his favor, he trusted that he would be entirely devoted to his interest. Uzeda was one of those insignificant characters, whose understandings are below mediocrity, and who are neither remarkable for vice nor virtue. But he possessed in an eminent degree the polished manners of a court, and by his constant assiduities to please, soon obtained as high a place in the affections of the king as Lerma still maintained in his esteem. The bewitching smiles of sovereignty, equally dissolving filial reverence and paternal tenderness, occasioned a rivalry between

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the father and the son, which terminated in an animosity that promixity of blood seemed only to irritate. Aliaga perceived the power which this diffension placed in his hands, and deliberated whether he should cast the balance in favor of Lerma or Uzeda. The alternative he embraced is worthy of attention, not only on account of its political consequences, but as it seems to prove that there is in the mind of man a disposition to expect, in his own behalf, a higher degree of virtue from others than he is conscious of possessing himself. Friar Aliaga, equally unmindful of that creative bounty which the generosity of a patron so readily extends to the person whom he has already obliged, and of the treachery and ingratitude of his own heart, determined to abandon his benefactor, and to unite his interest with that of Uzeda, imagining that he had more to expect from a minister on whom he had conferred, than from one to whom he owed the greatest obligations. The duke of Lerma endeavoured to counterbalance the growing influence of his son, by raising up a rival to him in the affections of the king. For this purpose he now labored to insinuate into the royal favor his sister's son, the count of Lemos, a nobleman of high spirit and sublime genius. He hoped to excite such movements of jealousy and envy between the count and Uzeda, as that he himself should be equally necessary to both, and be able to hold in his own hands the balance of power between the contending rivals. But the pliant

mind, and gentle manners of Uzeda, were more congenial to the nature of Philip than the erect and independent spirit of Lemos. The king was constantly attended by his new favorite and his confessor, and surrounded with numbers of discontented nobles, with whom these men kept up a close correspondence.

In the midst of these intrigues the duke of Lerma solicits and obtains the rank of a cardinal, hoping that this religious dignity would prove the means of prolonging his power over the mind of the pious king, or at least, that it would place him above the malice of his enemies and the inquiries of justice. But it was the fortune of this duke to undermine his own power by those very measures which were intended to support it. The indolent Philip was displeased to be under the necessity of exchanging the ease of former familiarity for those ceremonies of respect which were due to the purple. The regard that had been every where shown to the duke of Lerma was well pleasing to the king, so long as all that he enjoyed was derived from his own bounty. The respect that was paid to the creature of his power he considered as an homage done to himself. But all his affections for the duke ceased the moment he attained to an equality with kings, and derived the splendor of his character from another source than the grace of his sovereign. The presence of the cardinal was uneasy to him, and if he received him with formality, he received him also with coldness.

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The estrangement of the king from his old minister was not unobserved by the eager eyes of the courtiers. The enemies of the cardinal duke, who had hitherto conducted their attacks by regular and slow approaches, now resolved to carry that fortress, which had so long defended him, and in which he still fondly confided, by assault. Upon the plausible pretext of zeal for the service of the king, and affection for his person, they represented the nation as one scene of oppression, disorder, and discontent, and threw the blame of the whole on the duke of Lerma. That minister, they affirmed, bestowed the most important offices on persons who possessed not any other merit than that of being agreeable to his fancy, and the creatures of his power. And as the appointment to offices was a matter that depended solely on his favor, so the exercise of the power he bestowed was determined by his will: for he over-ruled the freedom of deliberation in the different councils established for the conduct of public affairs, and assumed the prerogative of dictating on every subject. The judges, in all cases where he chose to interfere, being obliged to give sentence according to his orders, the very tribunals of justice were organs of his pleasure. On the distresses of the people they insisted with peculiar zeal, lamenting, that the poor of a whole nation should be despoiled of the few things they possessed, and even deprived of the necessaries of life, for the purpose of supporting the magnificence and mad extrava-

gance of one man: a man who by various impolitic measures, and particularly by the circulation of brass-money; had contributed so fatally to the decline of manufactures, the ruin of commerce, the depopulation and impoverishment of the kingdom. Passing beyond the limits of Spain, they reviewed the conduct of the duke in the dependencies of the monarchy. The revenues of Sicily he had converted into a private estate. The war in Piedmont, so unavoidable in its progress, and in its issue so dishonorable to the Spanish name, might have been crushed in its beginning by force of arms, or prevented by a timely attention to the situation and designs of foreign states. As in war an able commander makes it his chief study to divide the forces of his enemy, so the art of government consists not in resisting, but in preventing confederacies. Wars which, even if successful, cannot be advantageous, ought never to be undertaken. The lion, said they, in the proverbial manner of Spain, is not honored by a victory over the lamb. A superior power, if not greatly efficient in foresight, can never be at a loss to restrain the turbulence of an inferior, without coming to an open rupture, and resting its authority on the doubtful events of war. From Italy they turned the eyes of the king to the seven United Provinces, once a part of that fair inheritance to which he had so just a claim as the heir of the duke of Burgundy. The truce with Holland; the formalities and solemnities with which that treaty had been ratified, and particu-

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larly the pompous title that had been given in that contract to the rebels, they mentioned with particular marks of indignation. They contrasted the virtue and the ability of the pensionary Barneveldt, with the incapacity of the duke of Lerma, and his indifference to the prosperity and glory of the nation. Unable to conduct the war, the Spanish minister, they said, sought to establish his own power in peace; a peace that was disgraceful in its nature, and which involved in its consequences a greater loss to the monarchy than it had incurred during a war of forty-five years that preceded it! While the war continued in the Netherlands, the main force of the rebels, concentrated in those provinces, acted only on the defensive. But the ignominious treaty of Antwerp had let loose that force on the widely scattered settlements of Spain in both the Indies, which were either torn from the monarchy, or demanded such additional garrisons for their protection, as might have been employed with greater honor, as well as advantage, in prosecuting the war on the theatre of rebellion. If the Spanish crown, in a glorious contest to maintain its just rights, should have proved unsuccessful, nothing more disastrous could have ensued than what had actually happened: while, on the other hand, to have continued the struggle, would have supported the honor of the nation among foreign powers, and, in the end, might possibly have derived some advantage from the chance of war, or that change which is incident to the policy

and the views of states and princes. These and many other charges against the duke of Lerma, were constantly founded in the ears of the king, by his confessor and his favorite, and confirmed by the testimony or the authority of all whom they permitted to have access to his person.

Though sovereign princes, from the supereminence of their stations, be naturally capricious, and fickle in their attachments⁵, it would be unreasonable, after these remonstrances, to ascribe the fall of Lerma to any inconstancy in his sovereign. There never was a prince, however despotic, so secure against the resentment, so insensible to the applause, or so unconcerned for the prosperity of the public, as to oppose, for the sake of a favorite, the general voice of his people. The constant appointment to offices, in contradiction to the recommendation of Lerma, fully illustrated the nature of that reserve, which had given that minister so much pain, and was an unequivocal proof that he had wholly lost the royal favor. In this extremity he labored to acquire the good graces of the prince of Spain, fondly hoping that the rays of the rising would brighten up the gloom that attended the setting sun. The count de Lemos, and Don Ferdinand de Borgia, a man of sound understanding, and possessed of talents for business, both lords of

⁵ Go, says Agamemnon to Achilles, if you have a mind; there are not wanting others who will show me honor. First Iliad.

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the bedchamber to the prince, had been raised to that dignity by the duke their uncle. Betrayed and injured by the cunning of Aliaga and Uzeda, the duke of Lerma had recourse to the friendship of his nephews; he met with virtue and honor where one would wish to find them, and where in reality they are oftenest to be found, in conjunction with vigor of understanding, and sublimity of genius. The count of Lemos and Don Ferdinand de Borgia were united by the ties of blood, of friendship, and gratitude to their uncle. They readily undertook to use their good offices with the prince in behalf of their beloved relation; they represented to his highness the weak capacity of Uzeda; and expatiated on the talents, virtues, and political experience of the duke his father. And their authority and address prevailing over the subtilties and assiduities of the conde duke of Olivarez, consoled Lerma with the hope of living in the favor of the heir apparent to the Spanish empire. But this intrigue was not long concealed from the king, and, like all the other efforts of the minister to prolong his power, served only to precipitate his fall. The image of death which was held up to the imagination of the king by the court that was paid to his successor, converted his indifference to Lerma into aversion. The count de Lemos had gained so much on the favor of the prince, that he was in the practice of conversing with him sometimes for hours after he went to bed. Orders were now sent to the count to forbear this practice in

future; but to these he did not yield a ready obedience. The king therefore dismissed from the service of his highness ⁶ four officers of his bed-chamber, who were in the confidence of Lemos, and appointed his cousin and faithful friend, Don Ferdinand de Borgia, viceroy of Arragon. The high-spirited count, deeming the disgrace of the officers, and the exile of his friend from court, an affront and injury to himself, had the boldness to ask the king his reasons for removing Don Ferdinand from the service of the prince, adding, that if Ferdinand should be banished from the court, he would accompany him to the place of his retirement. The king replied in an angry tone, that it was his pleasure to treat Don Ferdinand as he had done; and that the count, if he were so minded, might accompany him in his exile. Lemos was mortified by so severe a reply; yet he made another effort to keep Borgia at court, and that almost in spite of the king. He engaged the council for Italian affairs, of which Borgia was president, to remonstrate against the removal of a minister, who, of all men in the world, was the best informed with regard to the affairs of Italy. The king answered, that he would appoint as successor to Don Ferdinand the count of Benevento, whose knowledge of Italian affairs was unquestionable. Upon this the count de Lemos retired from court, consoling himself with the reflection that he had made no mean compliances to gain the royal favor, but had per-

⁶ Su Altezza, so the prince was distinguished.

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formed the duties of friendship, and in the whole of his deportment maintained the noblest propriety and dignity of character.

The magnanimity of the count seemed to arraign the conduct of the duke of Lerma, who, even after the disgrace of his friends, lingered about the Escorial, and manifested the most eager desire still to hold his office. The king, finding that no marks of his disgust, however striking, were able to induce his old minister to prevent the disgrace of a formal dismissal, in a billet written with his own hand, ordered him in express terms to withdraw himself from Madrid; but permitted him to retire to whatever place he should chuse, and enjoy in peace the effects of his former bounty. In these circumstances the duke condescended to appear as a suppliant at the feet of the treacherous Aliaga. He entreated the monk to intercede in his behalf with the king. It is superfluous to inform the reader that this humble application was wholly fruitless. He then sent a message to his brother, the archbishop of Toledo, whom he had raised to the high dignity and opulence he enjoyed, and who at that time resided at Madrid, earnestly soliciting him to come to the Escorial, and to support him with his countenance, his advice, and his influence with the king. The archbishop excused himself from undertaking that ungracious office, by alledging that he was in a bad state of health; but he sent to the assistance of his brother father Jerome

Jerome, of Florence, a Jesuit, a preacher for whom the king entertained a particular respect. Father Jerome, in his private discourse with the king, endeavoured with great address to revive in his mind sentiments of favor and regard to the duke of Lerma. But Philip did not receive his favorite preacher with his usual affability, nor listen to his instructions with wonted attention. The Jesuit, perceiving this alteration in the deportment of the king, did not persevere in his commendations of Lerma, and only pleaded, in favor of that minister, for a short respite, which was refused in positive terms.

The duke of Lerma now summoned up all his fortitude, and by the propriety and dignity of his deportment atoned for the meanness of his former solicitations. On the 4th day of October 1618, being still in his apartments in the palace, he was ready to take his journey to his paternal estate, with a train of attendants suitable to his high rank, when the prince of Spain, who happened to take a walk in the garden, came up to the door of his chamber, and calling him aside, conversed with him a considerable length in the language of tenderness and complacency. The duke then went to take leave of his sister, the countess of Lemos, first lady of the bed-chamber to the princess of Spain. Having bowed to that lady five times, with great respect, he went into his chariot, and repaired for the last time to the mansion of the king. On his approach, he alighted from his carriage, and viewing the royal

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apartments with an eager eye, he ardently poured forth his blessing on them, and on the royal family. Having performed this duty, he remounted his chariot, and drove straight to Guadarrama, where he lodged all night. At this place he received a letter from the king, the contents of which were never revealed to the curious and speculating world, with a present of a stag, slain by his own hand that day in the chase. Thus both the king and the prince of Spain, with a generosity worthy of their exalted stations, mixed the bitter cup of Lerma with refreshing spices: and as no minister ever descended from a greater height of power, so none was ever laid more softly down⁷, and few perhaps ever deserved a gentler fall.

Character of
the duke of
Lerma.

The duke of Lerma was a personage of a noble mien, gentle manners, and a beneficent disposition. The natural benignity of his heart appeared in the mildness of his aspect, the tone of his voice, and innumerable acts of munificence and liberality. His promotions to public offices were chiefly determined by political motives and personal friendship. Yet, it may be safely affirmed, that during his administration, all the places of principal trust and importance were filled with men of extraordinary

⁷ Historia de Don Felipe III. por Don Gon. de Cespedes, lib. i. cap. 3, 4. lib. ii. cap. 1. 17. Anecdotes du Ministere du Comte duc d'Olivarez. Las Memorias de Comines con Escolios propios de Don Juan Vitrian. Amelot de la Houssaie, Disc. Histor. Addiciones à la Historia de España, por Malvezzi.

abilities. The judgments of men are commonly influenced by their natural temper. Agreeably to the mildness of his own disposition, and his love of magnificence, he was of opinion that the dignity of the Spanish monarchy was best maintained by peace, pomp, and parade*. And though he might, perhaps, have pursued this plan with greater economy, as it is certain that his profusion was not the main cause, so it is probable that all his savings, had he been ever so much inclined to frugality, would not have been able to alleviate in any considerable degree the distresses of the nation. Though his capacity was but moderate, his soul was elevated, and his mind was firm. If he descended from his natural dignity to humble applications, in order to preserve the good graces of his prince, we ought not on that account too hastily to stigmatize his memory with meanness of spirit. The greatest political and military courage has sunk under the deprivation of royal favor. Neither the resolute Ximenes, nor the undaunted Albuquerque, was able to support the frowns of his sovereign. Notwithstanding the invectives

* He was very careful to exact every mark of respect to the crown of Spain from neighbouring nations, and sometimes discovered a jealousy on this head which was unworthy of a great nation. I find in Chamberlayne's Letters MSS. anno 1616, in the British Museum, the following passage: "The Spanish ambassador complained to the king at Theobald's, that whereas we kept ambassadors at Venice and in the Low Countries, an agent served the turn in Spain and with the archdukes."

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of Lerma's enemies, the most respectable Spanish historians ' not only celebrate the beneficence of his disposition, but do justice to the moderation of his power, and the prudence of his public conduct. These indeed, were afterwards confessed by the whole nation, when the vast ambition, and sublime but irregular genius of Olivarez, by stretching the sinews of the empire beyond their utmost tone, threw it into convulsions, and only rendered the dissolution of its strength more violent and painful.

The whole employments of the duke of Lerma devolved on his son Uzeda, except that of governor to the prince, which was conferred on Don Balthazar de Zuniga, a man of cultivated genius, and great experience in political affairs, particularly in embassies ^{1°}.

Tragical
end of Don
Roderigo de
Calderona,
count of
Oliva.

Soon after the disgrace of Lerma, the count of Oliva was arrested by order of the king, and thrown into prison, where he languished for the space of two years. His rise from so low a station to so great a height of power gave birth to an opinion that he was a forcerer, which his enemies were at great pains to propagate. He was charged with having poisoned the queen, who died in 1612; a charge as improbable in itself, as it was found to be unsupported by any evidence; for Don Roderigo stood as high in the favor of that princess as the duke of Lerma did in the affections of the

' Gon. de Céspedes y Meneses. Don. Juan de Vitri-
an, &c. ^{1°} Gon. de Céspedes, lib. i. cap. 4.

king. Many other groundless accusations were brought against him: but at last he was found guilty of having been accessary to the murder of two Spanish gentlemen: a matter which, according to some historians, was never clearly proved; he was however condemned to death, and his estate was confiscated. The evidence on which he was convicted was not direct, but circumstantial; and if we may judge from some of the circumstances left on record, as the principal ground of his condemnation, we may infer, that the deficiency of the proof was supplied by the zeal of both his accusers and judges. The trial and confinement of Calderona were prolonged for two years and six months; a measure calculated to keep alive the general odium against his patron the duke of Lerma, and to prevent the return of that ancient favorite to court, of which the new ministry were not a little apprehensive. During all the time that Calderona lay in prison, there was not one among the multitudes he had obliged, except the cardinal Don Gabriel de Trejo, whose name deserves to be recorded, nephew to the countess his lady, who had the humanity and the courage to attempt his relief, or to afford him any comfort. The cardinal was no sooner informed of the imprisonment of Calderona, than, impelled by a generous gratitude, he set out from Rome to pay his respects to his patron in a dungeon, and determined to move every engine that his utmost efforts could command in order to release him. But the cardinal

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was neither permitted to visit the court nor the prison. He lingered, however, a long time in Spain, in anxious hopes of finding some fortunate occasion of saving his friend; but, on the death of pope Paul V. which happened in February 1621, he returned, by order of the king, to Rome.

Don Roderigo bore confinement, solitude, and torture, with incredible patience. After his doom was fixed, he was visited, at his own earnest desire, by the ministers of religion. His great soul, which had braved all the rage of his enemies with such singular constancy, discovered, on the approach of death, a nobler heroism in the most perfect resignation to the will of God; and in the most candid confession, and sincerest contrition for the errors of his life. The ardor of his mind was now displayed in the severities of self-mortification. He was covered with hair-cloth: he watched and prayed night and day: he afflicted himself with fasting, and with stripes; and, had not his confessor interposed, he would, in all probability, have anticipated the stroke of the executioner, by an excess of voluntary pain. On the 19th day of October, 1621, the first year of the reign of Philip IV. he received intimation, that within two days he should die. He received the messenger of this welcome news with a chearful countenance, and tenderly embraced him. He now abstained from sleep and food, and spent his time in acts of devotion. About eleven of the clock on the 21st of October, he came to the door of the prison,

encompassed by the officers of justice. Affliction had softened the natural dignity of his looks and mien: and his grey hairs, his beard, and his dress, suited to the present sad occasion, conspired with the expression of his countenance to impress the spectators with sentiments of veneration and love. He yet possessed sufficient strength to mount on a mule that waited for him at the prison. This he did with great tranquillity, and passed through the streets to the place of execution, embracing and adoring a crucifix which he held in his hands, amidst the tears and lamentations of the surrounding multitude. The executioner held the reins of the mule, and, as he went along, proclaimed aloud the following words: "This is the judgment, which, by the orders of our sovereign lord the king, is inflicted on this man for his having been the instigator of an assassination; and accessory to another murder; and divers other crimes which appeared on his trial: for all of which he is to be beheaded, as a punishment to him, and a warning to others." Having arrived at the scaffold, the resigned sufferer beheld with a serene countenance the instruments of his approaching death; the chair, the sword, and the man whose office it was to use it. He conversed, for some time, with his confessor and other divines. And, having been received into the bosom of the church, he took leave of his attendants, and sat down on the seat from which he was never to rise. Before his hands and his feet were made fast, he made a present to the executioner, and twice embraced the man.

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who was bathed in tears, as a token that he bore him not any ill will on account of the office he was about to perform. Then, making bare his neck, he yielded his limbs to be bound, with the utmost composure. The instant this operation was performed, he reclined himself backwards¹¹, and while he was in the act of recommending his soul to God, his head was in a moment severed from his body. As the last impressions are commonly the strongest¹², men forgave and forgot the imperiousness of his former conduct and behaviour, and thought and spoke only of that mixture of humility and fortitude, that patience and piety, which he displayed in the last stage of his life¹³.

The counsels of Spain had, for many years, been distinguished by a singular union of a desire of power, with a love of peace: but it was found impossible to gratify at once those opposite passions. The intrigues of ambition excited the violence of arms. The commotions of Italy were followed by those of Germany. A war was kindled, the most signal and destructive in modern

¹¹ In Spain, traitors alone are beheaded with their faces downwards. The Spanish word, is *degollar*, *couper la gorge*. The executioner performs his office face to face with the sufferer.

¹² *Sed plerique Homines postrema meminere.* Julius Cæsar, Ap. Sallust. ¹³ Savedra, *Devifas Politicas*. Amelot de la Houffaie, *Disc. Hist.* Article Calderona. *Historia de Don Felipe IV.* por Gon, de Céspedes, lib. ii. cap. xxvii.

annals. Famine and pestilence succeeded to the destroying sword, and the direful power of hunger equally overcame the strongest antipathies, and violated the tenderest affections of nature: so bloody was that tragedy which concluded so happily for the liberties of Europe, in the famous peace of Westphalia!

The male line of Maximilian II. having terminated in Matthias, Maximilian, and Albert, who were now advanced in years, without progeny, the succession to the hereditary dominions of Austria in Germany, might have been claimed, on plausible grounds by the king of Spain¹⁴. But a natural love of tranquillity, the desire of preserving in his house the imperial crown, and the dread of that dignity devolving on the head of a heretic, determined Philip to comply with the request of the Austrian princes, and to yield up his pretensions in favor of those of Ferdinand of Gratz, great grandson of Ferdinand I. and distinguished by his zeal for the Catholic religion. He, accordingly, made a solemn cession of all his rights to the Austrian provinces, to Ferdinand and his brothers, and their issue male. But, if that should fail, it was stipulated, that the provinces should return to the house of Spain, of which the females were to be preferred before those born in Germany. On this occasion, Philip and Ferdinand entered into a family-compact, the object of which was not only to maintain the strength of

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Origin of the thirty years war in Germany, that terminated in the peace of Westphalia.

¹⁴ The son of Anne, daughter of the emperor Maximilian II.

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their common stock, but to extend its branches over the neighbouring nations. They made a league, offensive and defensive. They engaged to support their respective rights and claims, by reciprocal succours; and to prefer the general interest of the Austrian race before any particular or transient advantage to any of its members. The date of these transactions was the year 1617. In the same year, on the seventh day of June, Ferdinand was raised to the crown of Bohemia, and in the year following to that of Hungary, with this reservation, that the regal power should remain with Matthias during his life.

The confederacy between the two branches of the house of Austria, and the steps that had been taken to continue in that family the imperial dignity, inflamed the jealousy that had long prevailed of Austrian ambition, and diffused among the protestants of Germany, a general alarm. Ferdinand had banished from his dominions all who persevered in the open profession of the reformed religion: a severity which prognosticated all the cruelty of religious zeal, wherever his power should be established. The apprehensions of men were increased, when they considered this strict alliance with the Catholic king, with whom he was connected by blood, by religion, and by interest. As he depended for support chiefly on the treasures and arms of Spain, so it was probable, he would be governed chiefly by Spanish counsels, whose constant aim was to wreath around the necks of mankind the yoke of religious and civil

tyranny. As the power of the emperor would be strengthened by an alliance, or rather a species of union with the vast monarchy of Spain, so his claims, it was dreaded, would be increased in proportion, and the enlarged prerogatives of the imperial crown, if the succession to that dignity should not be interrupted on the death of Matthias, would descend as an inheritance to the latest posterity of the family of Austria.

But the man on whose mind these considerations made the deepest impression, was Frederic elector palatine, a prince young, high spirited, and in power not inferior to any of the protestants, the duke of Saxony perhaps excepted. He visited all the members of the electoral college, to whom he represented, that as the present conjuncture demanded, so it presented a fit occasion of forming a barrier against the progress of Austrian ambition. He entreated them, by a timely interposition, to check the growth of an authority which must otherwise become irresistible; and by a spirited and judicious exercise of their privileges, to perpetuate them in their families. The Catholic electors, as he had expected, he found attached to the house of Austria: and these were four in number, while the protestants were only three. But, in order to over-balance this inequality of numbers, Frederic with the consent and approbation of his protestant brethren, made a tender of the imperial crown to the duke of Bavaria, not doubting but the archbishop of Cologne, one of the Catholic electors, would interest himself

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in the fortunes of the duke, his brother, and be forward to promote his greatness. This plan in which there was not any thing subtle or profound, was the more solid and judicious, that it was obvious and natural. But it was disconcerted by a cause that was scarcely to be suspected. The duke of Bavaria rejected the proffered dignity of the imperial crown, and all that the policy and zeal of the palatine was able to effect, was a short delay in the election of a king of the Romans¹⁵.

Description
of Bohemia.

The sparks of discord which in other parts of the empire had produced only murmurs, jealousies, and intrigues, having fallen, in Bohemia, on more combustible matter, had, by this time, blazed into the flames of war. As that kingdom is the highest ground, the most mountainous, and by nature, the strongest in Germany, so its inhabitants had at all times been distinguished by the loftiness of their spirit, and the vigor and success of their struggles for civil liberty and religious toleration. It is bounded on the east, by Moravia and Silesia, the countries of the ancient Quadi and Marcomanni; on the west by Bavaria, part of the ancient Noricum; on the south by the ancient Pannonia, now Hungary, with other provinces of Austria; and on the north by Saxony. It is almost surrounded by the mountains of the famous Hyrcanian forest, whose sides broken into many sloping ridges, intersect this lofty and spacious amphitheatre, and form a landscape, bold,

¹⁵ Batt. Nan. Hist. della Repub. Venet. lib. iv.

various , and of great beauty. This country is remarkably fertile , and before the spirit of the inhabitants was broken , and their industry checked by despotic government , so populous , that it was computed to have contained above three millions of souls.

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The Bohemians of those times are represented by cotemporary historians , as a people of a ruddy complexion , and of enormous stature and force of body , and in their dispositions intrepid , fierce , proud , quick in resenting injuries , of a haughty mien , lovers of a rude magnificence and pomp , and addicted to revels and intemperance. The native language of Bohemia is the Slavonic , which appears to have been the mother - tongue of the Tartars and their offspring the Turks ; and of all the nations inhabiting those regions which extend from the northern parts of Russia to Turkey in Europe ¹⁶. The metropolis is Prague , a city of large extent , stretching along the banks , and on either side of the river Mulda , adorned with many sumptuous edifices , and particularly two strong castles , one of which was the residence of the ancient Bohemian kings. The rich provinces of Silesia , Moravia , and Lusatia , were dependent on Bohemia , and formed a great addition to its power and importance in the scale of nations.

The authority of the church of Rome was never so great and universal as wholly to banish from

Origin and
progress of
the reformation.

¹⁶ Russia , Poland with Lithuania , Hungary , Transylvania , Slavonia , Croatia , Istria , Wallachia &c. &c.

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the Christian world a spirit of inquiry and a love of knowledge. During the thickest darkness of the middle ages, a star appeared here and there in the firmament which reflected the light of ancient times, and formed a presage, that although the sun of science was set, it would return to enlighten bewildered nations. So early as the eighth century, Claud, bishop of Turin, sowed the seeds of reformation in the vallies of Piedmont, whence they were gradually transplanted into other countries. In the thirteenth century, the Waldenses, or Vallenfes, or Albigenfes, for by these and other names, the disciples of Claud were distinguished, had spread so far, and become so numerous, that the pope thought it necessary to exert his utmost efforts to suppress them. For this purpose, the first crusade was proclaimed of Christians against Christians, and the office of inquisitor was established. Such a war as had been waged with the infidels, was now carried on against these unfortunate heretics. In France alone, if we credit the authority of Mede¹⁷, ten hundred thousand perished by the sword. According to an author less liable to the suspicion of aggravating the horrors of the inquisition, the Valdenses in that kingdom were either cut off by fire and sword, or dispersed into remote regions, or driven to the fastnesses of neighbouring woods and mountains. Some sought an asylum in the Alps adjoining to Provence, part withdrew into Calabria, part obtained refuge in Britain, and others turning

¹⁷ Vide Mede in Apocalypsin. p. 503.

to the east, took up their abode among the Bohemians, and in Livonia and Poland¹⁸. In Germany they grew and multiplied so fast, that in the beginning of the fourteenth century, it is computed there were eighty thousand of them in Bohemia, Austria, and the neighbouring provinces. And so greatly had their number increased in the space of the next hundred years, that they avowed and maintained their religious tenets, in spite of the tyranny of the pope, supported by the power of the emperor. In 1410, Robert I. the count palatine being emperor of Germany, and Winceflaus, who had been deposed from that dignity, on account of his egregious misconduct, king of Bohemia¹⁹. The doctrines

¹⁸ Thuani præfatio ad Henricum IV. p. 7.

¹⁹ Winceflaus was continually immersed in debauchery, and in his fits of intoxication, frequently exercised the most enormous cruelties on people of all ranks. From a strange mixture of cruelty, whim, and indecency, he contracted an intimacy with the public executioner, whom he honored with the appellation of "gossip." His cook having offended him, he gave orders that he should be roasted alive. On account of these irregularities, and his selling the rights of the empire, both in Italy and Germany, he was deposed by the unanimous voice of the electors from the imperial throne. Winceflaus was so little mortified at the news of his deposition, that he said with the most perfect acquiescence. "We are overjoyed to be delivered from the burden of the empire." He sent a message to the imperial cities, requesting them to send him, as the last token of their loyalty, some butts of their best wine. He afterwards shut himself up in the castle of Visigrade in Prague, abandoning himself to the gratification of his appetites. Such a character was not likely to intermeddle in religious disputes.

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of the Albigenſes were maintained by the learning, eloquence, and irreproachable lives of John Huſs and Jerome of Prague. Theſe reformers were condemned to the flames by the council of Conſtance, and ſuffered with the uſual fortitude of martyrs. A civil war was kindled from their aſhes. The Bohemians revolted againſt the emperor Sigifmond, who with many reſpectable qualities was a zealous bigot to the catholic religion, and under the conduct of Zifca, defended their opinions not only with arguments, but arms. The emperor was defeated in ſeveral battles, by this bold leader, who gave law to the kingdom of Bohemia till his death, which happened in 1424. He gave orders that a drum ſhould be made of his ſkin, and what is equally extraordinary, his orders were faithfully carried into execution. Zifca's ſkin, after undergoing the neceſſary preparations, was formed into a drum, which was long the ſymbol of victory. Procopius, a Catholic prieſt, converted by the writings of one of the diſciples of John Huſs, revived the ſpirits of the Bohemian brethren, many of whom, after the death of Zifca, had retreated to caves and mountains. This champion, who, uniting the military with the ſacerdotal character, ſupported the cauſe of his party with great courage and bravery, fell in a battle with the Catholics. Yet, ſo terrible had the name of the Huſſites become to Sigifmond, that he allowed them the cup in the ſacrament of the eucharift (the deprivation of which had been the
main

main source of their complaints) together with a general amnesty, and a confirmation of their privileges. But verbal and even written promises are easily retracted, where there exists not any power of enforcing their accomplishment: and a right avails nothing without a remedy. The dispersed brethren ceased to be formidable. Sigismond renewed his tyranny. His immediate successors on the imperial throne were, like him, zealous Catholics. And the reformed in Germany were languishing under the pressure of an arbitrary government, when Martin Luther raised up nations to their aid, revived their drooping spirits, increased their numbers, and exalted their power.

Had the whole Christian world at the time when Luther began to preach against indulgences been devoted to the Romish faith, however absurd the doctrines of the clergy, and however profligate their lives, it is impossible that he could have met with any considerable success: so great is the power of established authority, and universally received opinion! But the never-ceasing contests between the popes on the one part, and the emperors with other sovereign princes on the other, diminished of themselves the reverence for the papal jurisdiction; and also tended wholly to subvert it, by rousing an inquiry into the grounds on which it was established. This inquiry was facilitated by the revival of literature, which, fatally to the reigning church, explored the foundations both of its power and doctrines. The

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discoveries of grave theologians and antiquarians were followed by the ridicule of wit and humor. And the learned and pious labors of Savonarola, Berengarius, and Wickliff, were aided by the raillery of Dante, Petrarca, and Erasmus. In the beginning of the 16th century, the primitive doctrines of Christianity had taken root in most countries in Europe. The materials for reformation were collected, and the foundations laid deep, before Luther and Calvin raised and completed the superstructure. The minds of men being thus prepared, the doctrines of these reformers spread far and near. In Bohemia with its dependent provinces, where similar tenets had been already adopted, and where ideas of opposition to the emperor, and contradiction to the pope, were so familiar and common, their progress was unusually rapid. And the number of Hussites and Evangelists, (appellations which cotemporary writers seem to consider as synonymous) soon equalled that of the Catholics, and was daily increasing. From their numbers they derived power, and from power a spirit of persecution. In Prague they committed many outrages on the property and persons of the clergy. The archbishop was driven from the city. And it was evident from the whole tenor of their conduct, that they aimed at nothing less than the whole power of government, both civil and ecclesiastical. Their encroachments received a check from the first Ferdinand, who, uniting vigor of conduct with lenity and moderation, asserted the

rights of the established church, at the same time that he used not any other means for reclaiming the Protestants than the influence of authority, and the power of persuasion. He entreated them to submit to the decisions of the Christian fathers now assembled in council at Trent. And on the other hand, that the authority of the fathers might have greater weight, he took the liberty of exhorting that venerable order to take measures for reforming the lives of the clergy. He re-established in Prague, the exiled metropolitan, with other Catholic priests; and sent to their aid a strong reinforcement of Jesuits. The labors of these preachers, fostered and encouraged by the countenance of the emperor, sustained a while the declining interests of the Romish faith. The memory of Maximilian and Rhodolphus, the immediate successors of Ferdinand on the imperial throne, is stigmatized by Catholic writers with a coldness and indifference in matters of religion, which was extremely favorable to the growth of heresy. This charge, as far as it concerns Rhodolphus, appears not to have been wholly groundless. For while the protestant party on the one hand required an extension of their privileges, and the catholic on the other, begged that the heretics might be laid under closer restrictions, the emperor declined at first to gratify the desire of either. But a fortunate conjuncture gave weight to the applications of the protestants, and crowned them with success. Matthias, who had already usurped the government of Mora-

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via, Austria, and Hungary, aspired now to the crown of Bohemia; and in order to pay his court to the protestants, professed the principles of toleration, and affected a zealous concern for all their rights and privileges. By these arts he effectually attached to his interest the leaders of that party, so formidable for its numbers, boldness and disposition to action. His indulgence to the reformed religion covered the violence of his usurpations with a specious veil: and his protestant partisans were not ashamed to support his unjust pretensions. Emboldened by the favor of Matthias and the justice of their cause, they took up arms, and in that hostile attitude, presented anew their petition to the emperor, for a confirmation of sundry privileges. Rhodolphus had hitherto exercised over Bohemia the power of a sovereign; and though he had neither inclination nor ability to prolong that power by force of arms, he was not so wholly indifferent to the attractions of a crown, as to resign it, if it could be retained by a few concessions respecting modes and doctrines of religion. The protestants accordingly obtained a royal edict, authorizing a free exercise of their religion in Bohemia and the adjacent provinces; a consistory or council for ecclesiastical affairs, with other institutions relating both to the government and defence of the churches of the reformation, and also to the establishment of schools, colleges, and places of worship. It is reasonable to suppose, that the utmost extent of this last concession, was a permission

to the protestants to build churches on their own lands. But they, interpreting it in the most comprehensive sense, began to build religious edifices even on the estates of the ecclesiastics: a freedom which appeared to the whole Catholic party an excessive outrage. Complaints of these encroachments having been carried to Matthias, who by this time had succeeded to his brother Rhodolphus, both on the Bohemian and imperial throne, a letter of royal authority was instantly issued, prohibiting the erection of all protestant fabrics on lands belonging to the church. In consequence of this proclamation, one or two meeting houses were demolished. And the protestants were thrown into the utmost ferment, their resentment against the emperor being exasperated by the recollection of those deceitful promises with which he had beguiled them when a candidate for the kingdom.

The Bohemian protestants by means of their Defenders, whose business it was to watch over the interests of the church, to spread an alarm in times of danger, and to concert measures for common defence²⁰, were enabled to combine in any effort that might be deemed necessary for the preservation of the true religion. Henry, count Thorn, perceiving the force of this great machine, and also how easy it would be, in the

²⁰ The Defenders appear to have been the principal men of their communion, either in their several congregations, or in the different districts of the country.

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present juncture, to set it in movement, conceived the bold design of turning it against the house of Austria. This nobleman was indeed of an enterprising and turbulent disposition: but in the part he acted on this occasion, he was actuated not so much by any inquietude of temper, as by the passions of resentment, fear, and religious zeal. Deprived of his paternal inheritance by the tyranny of the archduke of Gratz, on account of his steadfast adherence to the doctrines of the reformation, and driven from his native country, he found refuge among the protestants of Bohemia. His zeal and his sufferings in the cause of the protestant faith, gained him the favor and confidence of this people, and the superiority of his genius their esteem. At the time when Matthias deemed it good policy to court the protestants, he affected a desire to establish the fortune of the count: and accordingly, when he seized the crown of Bohemia, he invested him with the command of Carlestein, a fortress in which were deposited the regalia of the kingdom. But when the power of Matthias was firmly established by the death of Rhodolphus, he threw off the mask of good-will towards the protestants, and openly patronized the faith in which he had been educated, and which was most favorable to regal power. The independent principles of count Thorn the emperor regarded with jealousy and distrust: for having determined to repress the pretensions of the heretics, he foresaw a conjuncture in which it would be dangerous to intrust

places of strength in any other hands than those of catholics. That nobleman was therefore deprived of the government of Carlestein, which was bestowed on count Martinitz, a devoted instrument of both ecclesiastic and regal authority. The succession of Ferdinand to Matthias, afforded not to the exiled count any hope of preferment from royal favor: on the contrary, the bigotry of that severe prince threatened him with still further oppression. In these circumstances, he saw no resource but in civil commotion and revolution. These were justified to the count by the enthusiasm of religion, and the same passion, as has been already observed, conspired with others in rousing him to attempt them²¹. He flew to different quarters of the kingdom, and hastening from place to place, labored both in public assemblies and private societies, to rouse a sense of danger, and a spirit of freedom. The boldness of his genius, and the fervor of his zeal, inspired a like boldness and fervor in all with whom he conversed. The flame spread from breast to breast, formed a concert of wills, and united all ranks of men in a resolution to defend

²¹ The principal authorities for this account of the origin of the troubles of Bohemia are these, *Annales de L'Empire* tom. ii. Heiss, *Hist. de l'Empire*. Batt. Nan. *Hist. Lib. iv. ann. 1618*, & *passim*. Gon. de Cesp. lib. prim. cap. v. *et passim*. *Veritable Recit de ce qui s'est passé à Prague le 21 May 1618*. Everhardi *Wassenburgii Embriensis Comment. de Bello inter Imperatores Ferdinandos et eorum Hostes*, &c. *Wilson's History of King James*.

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their religious rights with their lives and fortunes. And at his instigation, the defenders, or chiefs of the protestants, called a general assembly of the states of the kingdom, for the express purpose of concerting measures for the redress of grievances.

The emperor, considering this spirit of association as the forerunner of rebellion, issued a proclamation, debarring all assemblies of the states, until he himself should come among them in person, or should give further orders to his ministers. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the Defenders, with numbers of other powerful barons, accompanied with armed servants and retainers, and a multitude of the inhabitants of Prague, convened at that city on the 20th day of May, and having heard a sermon, and joined together in prayer, mutually pledged themselves to defend their religion and their churches, not only in Prague, but in every part of Bohemia. It was also resolved to publish to all the world an account of their present conduct and future views. A manifesto was drawn up for this purpose. The exordium contained the strongest expressions of loyalty to the emperor, as king of Bohemia. The general estates lamented the dangers which obliged them to take measures that appeared to supersede an authority they wished to preserve inviolate. Their only design was to frustrate the pernicious projects of certain seditious and turbulent spirits, who had sworn the ruin of their liberties, and of the fundamental laws of

Manifesto
of the Bo-
hemians.

the kingdom; who had so far abused the confidence of the emperor and of Ferdinand, as to persuade these princes to march against Bohemian subjects at the head of hostile armies; in order to seize Prague; to kill or imprison the greater number of the nobles, and deputies of states; to rase their churches; and to abolish the free exercise of their religion²². This manifesto being read aloud, was approved by the states, and a general murmur of applause was heard among the people.

In the midst of these transactions, an order arrived from the imperial ministry, commanding the protestant leaders to disperse, and to retire to their respective habitations. Upon this, count Thorn, attended by a number of other barons on horseback and in armour, rode up to the castle, and having secured its gates, proceeded immediately to the hall, in which the ministers of Matthias were assembled in council on the present important emergence. Invective and altercation was soon followed by blows: and the count Martinitz, Slavata, and Fabritius, who held the principal offices of government, were thrown headlong out at the windows. Though they fell from a height of sixty feet, and that several shots of musquetry were fired at them as they fell, they escaped, not only with their lives, but free from any material harm. The Catholics considered this

²² Everhardi Wasseburgii Embricensis Comment. de Bello inter Imperatores Ferdinandos II. et III. & eorum Hostes.

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remarkable preservation of these three men as a miracle wrought by heaven in support of the Romish faith. Minute descriptions are accordingly given, in the writings of those times, of the wall of the castle of Visigrade, and of the tremendous precipice which intervenes between the bottom of the wall and the ditch. But protestant writers disprove the alledged miracle, by observing that the spot on which the Catholics fell was covered deep with dung, and mud, and leaves of trees.

Revolt of
Bohemia.

The Bohemians, now involved in the guilt of rebellion, determined to persevere, and to seek from their own valor and good fortune for that indemnity which they had both little reason to look for at the hands of Matthias, and still less from those of his successor. Their minds opened to greater views than those they had entertained on the first alarm of danger; and they now resolved to vindicate by the sword, not only their religious, but their civil privileges. In this resolution they were encouraged, whether they surveyed the internal situation of their own kingdom, or cast their eyes abroad upon foreign states. There was nothing in Bohemia to resist their united force. Matthias, declining in health as in years, was not able, and perhaps would not be very willing to maintain, in opposition to the just pretensions of a generous people, an arbitrary jurisdiction that must soon devolve to an ambitious rival and hated successor. The country was naturally strong and fertile, the people high spirited

and warlike, and ready to encounter danger and death in defence of their religion. If passing from their own, they contemplated the state of other kingdoms; circumstances not less animating presented themselves to their view, and fanned that generous fire which glowed in their breasts. The contagion of example, which more than reason governs the world, displayed its full force on this important occasion. The Venetian republic, and the duke of Savoy, had of late maintained their independence in opposition to the pretensions and power of that civil and religious tyranny, with which the Bohemians were now called to struggle. The protestants of France formed of themselves, as it were, a separate state in the midst of a mighty kingdom. And the united provinces of the Netherlands, in spite of the veteran armies of Spain, and the gold of the western world, had risen from the lowest and most distressing circumstances that could be imagined, to the greatest height of liberty and power. These circumstances were ever present to the minds of the Bohemian leaders, and formed the chief topics in their public harangues, as well as in their writings, which were circulated all over the kingdom by means of the press, and which were full of eloquence and vigor. And as divers states animated the Bohemians by their example, so all protestant powers, it was probable, would support them with substantial assistance. The sympathy of religion would render theirs the interest of nations: and their companions at the

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The Bohemians having determined to insist on the restoration of their ancient laws and constitution, expelled the old garrison out of the castle (which was the royal palace) and replaced it by another in which they could confide. They appointed thirty persons to govern Bohemia, with the title of Directors. These magistrates having, in the first place, taken an oath of fidelity and allegiance, from the inhabitants of Prague, proceeded to the administration of government. The first act of their power was to banish the Jesuits, and to confiscate their effects. They raised an army of two thousand horse, and twelve regiments of foot, and gave the supreme command to count Thorn. They addressed a manifesto to the emperor; to the states of Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia; to the whole provinces and states of the empire; and to all the world; containing an account of their conduct, and invoking the aid of all the friends of religious toleration, and civil liberty.

Ernest, count of Mansfeldt, was the first who espoused the Bohemian cause, and the last of its adherents who abandoned it. He was a natural son of that count Mansfeldt, whom Philip II. appointed governor of the Netherlands. In his early years, he attached himself, like his father,

²³ Historia de Don Felipe, &c. por Gon. de Cespedes, lib. i. cap. vi. Batt. Nani, lib. iv. 1618.

to the house of Austria. The court of Vienna was filled with a just admiration of his talents and virtues; and, in a transient fit of favor, promised to invest him with the rights of legitimate birth, and to put him in possession of the estates of his family. But a regard to interest violated a promise that had been made merely from generosity: and as the most violent resentments are those which arise from disappointed confidence, count Mansfeldt's hatred of Matthias was implacable. His aversion to the house of Austria he extended even to their religion. He renounced the Catholic faith, and openly professed the doctrines of Luther. He abandoned the service of the emperor, and entered into that of Charles Emanuel, the most active and enterprising of all the enemies of Austria. But the present situation of affairs in Germany, opened so full a career to the genius, the ambition, and the vengeance of Mansfeldt, that he could not forbear expressing to the generous prince whom he now served, an eager desire of offering his sword to the revolted states of Bohemia. The duke of Savoy, who considered the disturbances in Germany as the surest pledge of his own security, not only applauded the views of the count, but permitted him to levy two thousand men, and also engaged to keep them in pay for him, for several months²⁴. At the head of this small force Mansfeldt marched into Bohemia, where he was received with the utmost joy, and instantly honored with the

²⁴ Batt. Nani, lib. iv. 1618.

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Characters
of the
counts
Thorn and
Mansfeldt.

charge of general of the ordnance. Thus the forces of Bohemia were intrusted to commanders who were both of them foreigners, both men of desperate fortunes, both breathing vengeance against the house of Austria, and both of them possessed in an eminent degree of military capacity and political discernment. Yet between the characters of these men there was a remarkable difference. Count Thorn, who had the talent of rousing, uniting, and wielding the minds of men, was the best fitted to govern a nation: Mansfeldt, so brave, enterprising, inventive, and refined, the best qualified to conduct an army. The military talents of this extraordinary person shone forth, indeed, beyond those of all his cotemporaries. Nor did ever any hero, in any age, exhibit greater boldness in encountering, or greater dexterity in escaping from danger. These fierce commanders took the field at the head of separate armies. The flag of rebellion was displayed throughout all Bohemia, and by a powerful contagion, incited a general insurrection in Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia, Hungary, and the Upper Austria²⁵.

Embarrassment of the
emperor
Matthias.

The news of this revolution, distracted the emperor with opposite passions. The idea, which so naturally presents itself to monarchs in similar circumstances, occurred first to Matthias. But coercive measures might be as fatal to his own power, as to the liberty of Bohemia. He was not able to take the field in person: the command of an army would, of course, be claimed by

²⁵ Rushworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 7, 8.

Ferdinand : and so powerful an engine would place in the hands of that prince the whole authority of government. Moved by this consideration, he wrote, in the style of the Catholics of those times, a paternal letter, requiring the evangelical states of Bohemia to lay down their arms, and disband their troops, promising them, in case of obedience, indemnity and protection. This offer the revolted provinces regarded not as a mark of lenity, but as a proof of weakness²⁶. They despised it so much, that they disdained to answer it. Matthias then forbade all levies of troops in the empire, without the imperial permission, and published to the world an elaborate account of the Bohemian revolt. A paper-war ensued between that prince and his revolted subjects; and it was evident that the quarrel must be decided, as usual in such cases, not by the pen, but by the sword. Accordingly, with the aid of the princes, friends, and allies of his house, he raised in Germany an army of ten thousand men. The king elect of Bohemia, as had been foreseen, demanded the command of this force, and obtained it; but with such restrictions, as betrayed the jealousy of the old emperor, and left little more to the nominal chief than the shadow of power. Ferdinand declined the exercise of so limited an authority, and this the rather, that it would tend to heighten the disgust of the emperor, and might even induce him to take measures

²⁶ Historia de Don Felipe III. por Gon. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. vi.

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Count Buc-
quoy ap-
pointed to
the com-
mand of the
imperial
army,

for disappointing his expectations of the imperial crown. The command of the army was, therefore, with the consent of Ferdinand, intrusted in the hands of the famous count Bucquoy. This general took the field without delay, and, having reduced the town of Teutlsbrod, fixed his headquarters in Budovits, the only place of strength that now remained to the emperor in all Bohemia. Count Thorn advanced against Bucquoy, reduced Krumlaw, with the suburbs of Budovits, and held that city in close blockade. Various skirmishes happened of course between the opposite armies; and fortune inclined sometimes to the one side, sometimes to the other.

Various
skirmishes
between the
Imperialists
and the Bo-
hemians.

Whilst count Thorn was thus employed, in watching the motions of the imperial general, Mansfeldt carried on with success the siege of Pilsen. This city was important for its situation, as it commanded an extensive and fertile tract of country along the course of a branch of the Mulda; and also contained great stores and treasures. For this being the only place in that quarter of the kingdom, where the power of the Catholic predominated over that of the Protestant inhabitants, thither the Jesuits and priests, and many of the richest citizens of the Bohemian capital had retired, with their most valuable effects. The conditions on which the inhabitants of Pilsen surrendered, after an obstinate resistance, were, that they should maintain two companies of evangelical soldiers; redeem the city from plunder by sixty thousand florins; and take an oath of fidelity and

and allegiance to the Protestant states of Bohemia. Several Catholic soldiers as well as citizens, preferred exile with the loss of all their goods, to this last condition. Mansfeldt having thrown into the city a strong garrison of both horse and foot, continued his route in Bohemia, and took several places almost without resistance.

During these transactions, continual overtures were made on the part of the emperor for peace. Matthias appeared in the singular character of a suppliant for power. He condescended to address many promises and flattering expressions of regard to individuals²⁷. The evangelical states had at first, as had been already observed, treated the emperor's advances towards a reconciliation with a contemptuous silence; but after he had drawn his sword, he became a more respectable correspondent, and they deigned to honor him with a letter. This letter contained very singular matter. The whole was a bitter complaint of the ravages committed by the imperial troops in the kingdom of Bohemia. Matthias answered, that he was sorry for what had happened, but that he would be under the necessity of sending more troops among them, if they should refuse to lay down their arms. The Bohemians at this time endeavoured to incline the emperor to peace, by the mediation of the archdukes his brothers; and it is probable, that could they have obtained the restoration of their ancient

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The emperor makes overtures for peace.

²⁷ Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII. Roy de France, et des principaux Evenemens arrivés pendant ce Regne dans tous les Païs du monde.

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constitution, and the establishment of the protestant religion, they would have been willing to leave to Matthias, or to Ferdinand, all the power of a feudal king. But neither was the emperor inclined to rest contented with so confined an authority; nor, perhaps, could the difference have been composed if he had. All confidence between the contending parties was lost: and the matter now in dispute, was, which should retain the power of the sword? an arduous question, and which an appeal to the sword itself could alone determine.

Death of
Matthias,
and succeſ-
ſion of Fer-
dinand.

Matthias had labored long under bodily infirmities and anxious cares, when the stroke of death laid him at rest, on the 20th day of March, 1619. Ferdinand, his successor, doubtful of his ability to reduce his subjects to obedience by force of arms, attempted to gain their confidence and voluntary submission, by argument and persuasion, and acts expressive of a tender regard for their happiness. He commanded Bucquoy to cease from all hostilities, and gave orders for a general suspension of arms throughout all his dominions. To all his revolted subjects he offered pardon and oblivion, a full confirmation of their privileges, and a full toleration in matters of religion. He added many expressions of good-will, and earnestly exhorted them to tread in the paths of peace. The exhortations of Ferdinand, were not more successful than those of his predecessor. Count Thorn having taken Iglaw, a frontier-town of Moravia, with several other places, and being

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reinforced by troops, not only from the provinces dependent on Bohemia, but also from Hungary, at the solicitation of several Austrian barons drew near to the Danube. Having been furnished with boats by those who favored his cause, he crossed that river with all his forces, and carried terror into the city of Vienna, as well as all the adjacent country. The whole garrison of Vienna amounted only to fifteen hundred foot and two hundred horse. This small force was under the necessity, not only of guarding the city from external attacks, but also from internal sedition: for count Thorn had a numerous party within the walls of Vienna, who had engaged to facilitate its reduction by securing one of the principal gates. Had that commander advanced on the present occasion with his usual celerity, the possession of the Austrian capital would, in all probability, have fixed the independency of the Bohemian states, and drawn after it other important revolutions. But trusting to the terror of his arms, and the influence of his partisans, he hoped to reduce Vienna, even without a struggle. He summoned that city to surrender. But while he lay two days at Fisken expecting an answer, the university armed five hundred students, and a reinforcement of several companies of cuirassiers having passed under false colors through the midst of the Bohemian squadrons, arrived from the grand duke of Tuscany. At this instant some zealots were in the act of shaking Ferdinand by the doublet, and demanding,

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with many imprecations, liberty of conscience. The trampling of horses and the glittering of swords and spears relieved the king from the importunities of those rude petitioners, and filled them in their turn with consternation and terror²⁸. Count Thorn now drew near the city, with a design to besiege it; but, by this time, his presence was thought necessary in another quarter.

Count Dampierre of Lorrain had raised four thousand men in Hungary, with which he intended to join the army under the command of Bucquoy. Mansfeldt, having learned his design, immediately resolved to attack him, before a junction of the Hungarians with the main Imperial army should render their united force irresistible. He was on his march for this purpose, when count Bucquoy fell upon him from an ambuscade, and defeated him with great slaughter. Mansfeldt himself was among the wounded, and a great number were taken prisoners. The Bohemian army retreated to Breslaw, the capital of Silesia; and on occasion of this disaster it was deemed expedient to recal count Thorn, to oppose the progress of the victorious enemy. Bucquoy, having reduced several places, retired to Budovits, where he waited for some troops he expected from Flanders²⁹. Count Thorn, having in vain endeavoured to bring the

²⁸ Gio. Batt. Nani, *Historia della Repub. Veneta dall' an. 1613. Sin'all' an. 1671*, lib. iv. 1619.

²⁹ Conq. de Cespèdes, *Hist. &c.* lib. i. cap. 6. *Hist. de Louis XIII.*

Imperialists to an action, but having recovered some fortresses they had taken, set out for Prague, where the reformed of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia were assembled.

In this situation of affairs the archbishop of Mentz, as chancellor of the empire, proclaimed a diet at Frankfort for the election of a king of the Romans. The electors attended either in person or by their proxies, and, on the twenty-eighth day of August, Ferdinand was adorned with the imperial purple.

The Bohemian states had now been assembled for two months, and in the course of this period they formed a league offensive and defensive with the annexed provinces, and another of the same kind with Bethlehem Gabor, who, from the rank of a private gentleman, had been exalted, by the favor of the Porte, to the sovereignty of Transylvania. This prince the Bohemians engaged to support in an effort to mount the throne of Hungary; as he, on his part, promised to maintain their right to elect a king of Bohemia. For they had solemnly resolved never to recognise Ferdinand as their king; but to chuse a Protestant for their sovereign, and to shake off for ever the yoke of all the princes of the house of Austria. They justified their renunciation of Ferdinand by several arguments. "By preserving the forms of free government, they said, the monarchs of Europe had been enabled to conceal their progressions towards absolute power, and insensibly to impose

The Bohemian states fortify themselves by new alliances, and resolve to chuse a new king.

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the yoke of slavery on their unguarded subjects. The election of Ferdinand, however formal it might appear, was certainly no other than an act of authority. Matthias, in the fulness of his power, had nominated his successor on the throne, and no individual had dared to oppose his will. Thus it was that the house of Austria trampled on the liberties of a free people, and abused the power which was intrusted in their hands for the public good, for the purpose of perpetuating it in their own family. But waving the question concerning the validity of his election, they maintained that Ferdinand had forfeited all title to the crown by violating the privileges of the states, particularly by endeavouring to fortify himself on the throne, by means of foreign aid; to control Germans by the arms of Spaniards." These were grave and solid reasons, but they added yet another, which appears very extraordinary, and even somewhat ludicrous; they said they had a right to chuse a new king, because Ferdinand had smoothed his way to the crown of Bohemia by means of Spanish gold; insinuating, that if they had sworn allegiance to that prince, they had been bribed to do so³⁰.

Such were the reasons of the Bohemians for deposing their king. Their motives for electing another were equally cogent. As they had not yet experienced the inconveniencies of an aristocracy, the election of a king did not seem necessary

³⁰ Harte's History of Gustavus Adolphus.

for the purpose of internal government, nor were they so much attached to regal dignity, as to chuse a king merely for the pomp and parade of a court. But the vigor of the prince who claimed the throne made it necessary for them to form by all means powerful alliances and connexions. They made a tender of their crown first to the duke of Savoy. That prince had already given them proofs of his good-will; and his superior genius seemed necessary to defend them against the threatened danger. But the duke declined to accept the crown, though he applauded the generous spirit of the Bohemians, and exhorted them to persevere in the noble course on which they had entered. They next cast their eyes on the elector of Saxony; but the hope of succession to the dutchy of Cleves restrained that prince from opposing the house of Austria. They now made an offer of the Bohemian throne to the elector Palatine. The spirit and zeal of this prince seemed not unworthy of a crown; and by his own force, and his connexion with prince Maurice³¹, and the king of England, they imagined he would be enabled to preserve it. Frederic, after some little hesitation, which was easily overcome by his natural ambition, and the incitements of the princess his wife, who had great influence over him, accepted the offer, and, having levied an army of ten thousand foot and two thousand horse, marched into Bohemia in support of his new subjects.

³¹ His uncle.

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The nations
alarmed at
the appearan-
ce of a comet.

While the commotions in Germany drew attention from every quarter, and from interest, from affection, or from religion, interested all nations, a comet appearing towards the North in the heavens, aggravated the general gloom; and the minds of men were agitated at once by the alarms of war, and a superstitious terror. A belief in astrology was at this period universal in Europe as well as Asia. Pamphlets were daily published, containing interpretations of the comet. While the vulgar considered it as ominous of domestic and particular events, men of genius and learning, deriding such absurd comments, supposed that a general sympathy pervaded the universe; that nature at certain periods was in a kind of commotion; and that, in such a crisis, the minds of men were naturally moved also³². And, if the languor of inoccupation be the great curse of human life³³, it may be affirmed that at no time was there ever a greater portion of felicity diffused throughout the world.

The contest between the emperor and the prince Palatine seemed at first altogether unequal. A spirit of disaffection and resistance had gone forth throughout the whole of Ferdinand's dominions. His crowns tottered on his head, and that of Bohemia seemed already fallen. The small

³² Batt. Nan. Hist. lib. iv. Wilson's History of King James, ann. 1619. Hume's Hist. vol. viii. p. 199.

³³ See L'Abbé du Bois, and Ferguson's Essay on Civil Society.

army under the command of Bucquoy was all that he had to oppose to the different forces of the Palatine, of count Thorn, and of Mansfeldt. A new and more terrible enemy advanced upon him from the East. The prince of Transylvania, under the auspices, and with the promise of powerful aid from the Ottoman Porte, marched rapidly into Hungary; reduced the capital; assumed the crown, with the title of king; made himself master of all that was important in the kingdom except Javarin and Comorrha; formed a junction with count Thorn; and threw a bridge over the Danube, with a resolution to carry the war into the heart of Austria.

In this extremity the native courage of Ferdinand was supported by the treasures, the arms, and the authority of Spain. In a cause which involved at once the greatness of his family, and the support of the Catholic religion, the Spanish monarch advanced large sums of money, and levied a powerful military force. A body of eight thousand men marched from the Low Countries to reinforce the Imperial army under count Bucquoy. And Spinola, with an army of thirty thousand, composed of Italians, Spaniards, Walloons, and Irish, prepared to invade the Palatinate³⁴. The powerful aid of Spain encouraged the electors of Saxony and Bavaria to appear on that side which seemed now to be strongest, and by adhering to which they might look

The cause of Ferdinand supported by Spain.

³⁴ Batt. Nani, lib. iv. 1619. Historia de Don Felipe, &c. por Gon. de Cespedes, lib. i. cap. 9. 11.

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for the highest advantages. The views of Saxony have already been mentioned³⁵. And as to the duke of Bavaria, he was invited by a promise of receiving the estates as well as the dignity of his kinsman the elector Palatine. The example and influence of the Bavarian, the authority of the whole house of Austria, and the common interests of the Romish faith, united all the princes of the Catholic league in a resolution to support Ferdinand with their lives and fortunes. The pope, besides his spiritual benedictions, contributed a pecuniary supply; and several ecclesiastics as well as princes of Italy followed his example.

³⁵ A writer of great reputation supposes that the duke of Saxony may have been actuated by a jealousy of Frederic, who of an equal was to become his superior; or, that he may have been afraid lest the princes of the house of Weymar, who were the warmest partisans of Frederic, should, by the assistance of that prince, if victorious, regain the possession of Saxony, the ancient inheritance of their family. [Pauli Piaſecii Chronica Geſtorum in Europa ſingularium: apud Amelot de la Houſſaie Diſc. Hiſtor.] It is of no importance to inquire whether theſe conjectures be well founded or no. It is often a difficult matter, it muſt be owned, to aſſign the real motives of the actions of princes, their conduct being often determined by ſecret, and ſometimes trivial cauſes. As to the matter in queſtion, I ſhall only obſerve, that I do not find any hiſtorian who is inclined to give credit to what Saxony himſelf affirmed: which was, that he would ſupport the juſt claim of Ferdinand, in oppoſition to the pretenſions of Frederic; becauſe a contrary conduct would bring a ſtain on the Proteſtant religion. Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1619.

An army was quickly raised for the defence of the ancient religion. The command was given to the duke of Bavaria. The protection afforded by the Ottoman empire to Gabor, interested the king of Poland also in the prosperity of Ferdinand; and in an instant ten thousand Cossacs, fierce and savage auxiliaries, over-ran Moravia, and joined the Imperial army under Bucquoi³⁶.

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The eyes of all Europe were now turned to the kings of England and France: the first interested in the fortune of Frederic from the connexion of blood as well as sympathy of religion; the second bound by the strongest ties of policy and ambition to oppose the progress of a proud and hated rival. But the indolent disposition of James, his reverence for the rights of kings, an eager desire to effectuate a marriage between the second infanta and the prince of Wales, and a conceit withal that the whole world entertained a profound respect for his love of justice and great learning; these circumstances inclined him, as usual, to embrace pacific measures; and he sought to promote the greatness of the Palatine, not by the sword, but by embassies and negotiations³⁷. Lewis was neither ignorant of the interest of France, nor did he want that spirit which was necessary for pursuing it with vigor. But that prince, who was one of those modest characters that are apt to pay a deference to capacities inferior

The conduct
of England
and France
in the present
contest.

³⁶ Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1619.

³⁷ See Hume's History of Great Britain, anno 1619.

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to their own, was at this time under the government of the duke of Luines. That favorite was induced, by the artifices of the Spanish ambassador, to sacrifice at once the interests of the Palatine and of France to private ambition. The rich heiress of Pequigny and Chaunes was educated at the court of Brussels. It became the policy of Luines, by the favor of the archdukes, to pave the way for a marriage between that lady and his brother Honorius. He entered into a confidential correspondence with these princes, and easily acquired their good graces by engaging to favor, in the present critical juncture, the views of the house of Austria. The veil under which he covered his secret designs from the eyes of his prince, was, that if the elector Palatine should establish himself on the throne of Bohemia, he would undoubtedly protect the Hugonots, with whom he maintained a correspondence through his uncle, the duke of Bouillon. An ambassador was dispatched from France to the city of Ulm, where there was held a diet of the empire. In this assembly the Catholic and Protestant parties were present, and also deputies from corresponding states and princes. The ambassador declared the resolution of Lewis "to observe an exact neutrality in the present dispute, and expatiated on the misery and folly of war and bloodshed, between parties who were not impelled to hostilities by any cause of mutual animosity or contention. The only quarrel, he said,

June.

was between the emperor and the elector of the Palatinate. Let these princes, therefore, fight out their own battles. But if the minds of princes be too strongly agitated by the present conjuncture to embrace such moderate and pacific councils, at least let not the ravages and desolation of war be spread over all Germany. On the contrary, let them be confined within the narrowest possible bounds: and, as the kingdom of Bohemia is the only subject of contention between the parties principally concerned, so let it be the only scene of all military operations that may be undertaken in support of their respective claims by their friends and allies." A treaty was accordingly framed in which it was settled that neither the Evangelical Union, nor the Catholic League should directly or indirectly invade or attack any electorate, principality, province, or city of the empire, Bohemia alone excepted.

Treaty of
Ulm.

The emperor was now in a situation in which he could act with the utmost vigor. The mere good offices of England were a general subject of derision³⁸. He was secure from the attacks of France. The Protestant princes and states of Germany were animated indeed with a hearty aversion to Ferdinand; but their assembly at Nuremberg had already proved how much they were divided by political jealousies³⁹ and religious

³⁸ Hume's History of Great Britain, Reign of James I, an. 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622.

³⁹ Hist. della Rep. Ven. Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1619.

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disputations^{**}, and how little reason there was to imagine they would ever unite in any effectual measures for the support of Frederic. The treaty of Ulm afforded the emperor a farther pledge of security from their attacks, and set him at liberty to pour an irresistible force into the kingdom and dependent provinces of Bohemia. Emboldened by these circumstances, he thundered forth against his rival the ban of the empire, and committed the execution of that decree to the archduke Albert, and to the dukes of Bavaria and Saxony.

The marquis
of Spinola in-
vades the
Palatinate.
August.

Don Lewis de Velasco being left with fifteen thousand men for the defence of the Austrian frontier towards the United Provinces, the marquis of Spinola, with a Spanish army, as has already been observed, of thirty thousand men, but these under the colors of Albert, marched directly into the Palatinate, and halted at Coblentz, at the confluence of the Rhine and the Moselle. As this invasion of Spinola was a manifest infraction of the treaty of Ulm, the princes of the Evangelical Union reproached the Catholic party with their perfidy. The elector of Mentz, adding mockery to breach of faith, said, that the house of Austria was not bound by that treaty, as it was not comprehended in the Catholic League^{††}. The princes of the Union, alarmed at the proceedings of the Austrians, and provoked at their

^{**} Hist. de Don Felipe, &c. por Gonç. de Cespedes, lib. i. cap. 9.

^{††} Amelot de la Houssaie, Disc. Hist.

insolence, opposed to the marquis of Spinola an army of twenty-four thousand foot, under the command of the marquis of Anspach⁴². This force was joined near Worms, on the first day of October, by two thousand horse, and four hundred musketeers, under the command of prince Henry of Nassau, and by an English regiment of infantry, conducted by Sir Horatio Vere, consisting of two thousand four hundred veterans⁴³. This single regiment, with some scanty supplies of money, was all that the king of England contributed to the support of his son-in-law. Nor is it probable that he would have ventured to send out even this small force against the Austrians, if he had not, from the timidity, or the facility of his nature, deemed it expedient to make a show of corresponding to the zealous attachment of his people to both the person⁴⁴ and the cause of Frederic. The Spanish ambassador at the court of London managed so dexterously the hopes and fears of James, that for the small assistance he afforded to the Palatine he made ample compensation. At the very time the armies of Spain were battering the English, and the other friends and allies of his son-in-law, in Germany, Sir Robert Mansell, vice-admiral of England, was carrying ordnance and naval stores to the Spanish arsenals,

⁴² Hist. de Don Felipe III. por Gonç. de Cesp. lib. 1. cap. 11.

⁴³ The History of King James, by Arthur Wilson, Esq.

⁴⁴ Hume's History of Great Britain, anno 1619.

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and protection to the Spanish trade and coasts from the rapine of the Turks ⁴⁵.

When the marquis of Spinola arrived at Coblentz, he learnt that Anspach was encamped at Oppenheim ⁴⁶, a post, one of the most important that could have been chosen either for the defence or the command of the Palatinate. In order to draw the enemy from this advantageous station, and to pave the way for taking possession of it himself, the Spanish general made such movements and such dispositions as seemed at first to indicate an intention of making an attack upon Frankfort on the Main, and afterwards, to make it dubious whether his design was against that city, or against Worms. In the course of these operations he reduced the towns of Creutzenach and Altzeim. The stratagem of Spinola had the intended effect. At the earnest request of the inhabitants of Worms, Anspach hastened to their relief with his main army, leaving Oppenheim under the protection of a moderate garrison. Upon this Spinola, who had set his face against Worms, wheeled suddenly about, and with an amazing rapidity advanced to Oppenheim, which he took by assault, together with great quantities of military stores and provisions. In this important place he formed his magazines; and, having strengthened it by a numerous garrison and new fortifications, threw a bridge over

⁴⁵ History of King James, by Arthur Wilson, Esq.

⁴⁶ Bat. Nan. Hist. &c. lib. iv. 1620.

the Rhine, and passed over into the Lower Palatinate. In this principality he reduced upwards of thirty towns and castles in the course of six months ¹⁶.

When we consider that this commander not only reduced, but kept firm possession of the greatest part of the Palatinate, in so short a time, and in the face of an army equal in numbers to his own, and, perhaps, not inferior in bravery; we cannot but conclude, either that his capacity must have been far above, or that of his adversary far below the common standard of human nature. All historians agree, that the conduct of Spinola in this, as in his other campaigns, discovered the most consummate military skill; yet their accounts of his conduct are, in several instances, materially different, and, perhaps, all of them, in many respects, wide of the truth. The evolutions of armies, their marches and counter-marches, and all the various operations of war, are not to be described with sufficient accuracy, either from the hasty and partial compilations of the day, or from a comparison of works better entitled to the name of histories. The general himself, or his confidential friends, can alone give an account of his views and designs; and, as to the vicissitudes of an engagement, they are not always known, even to the experienced officer present in the field of action. The utmost therefore that any other person can aspire to is, to

¹⁶ Gon. de Cesp. lib.vi. cap. 12, 13. Batt. Nan. lib. iv. cap. 16. 20. Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.

Inspection
of the
General
of the
forces
of the
Union.

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illustrate the advantages of vigilance and foresight; to display the power of discipline, of habit, and of opinion, and, perhaps, to point out a few of those causes which surprise the hearts of men, and fill them with the passions of courage or of fear.

But, if it is impossible, by tracing the designs, to do justice to the genius of Spinola, it is an easy matter to discover that he had not a formidable rival in the marquis of Anspach. As an example has been given of the capacity of the one general, so an example shall in like manner be given of the incapacity of the other. On the third day after the arrival of the Dutch and English troops, the marquis of Anspach marched, with an intention of surprising Altzeim, at the head of four thousand horse and six thousand foot, with a suitable train of artillery. The marquis of Spinola, unwilling that his reputation should be tarnished by suffering any of the places he had taken to fall again into the hands of the enemy⁴⁷, hastened to its relief. Anspach, informed of the march of Spinola, suddenly turned about to give him battle; but Spinola had by this time learned that the army he had designed to attack was greatly superior to his own in numbers; he therefore drew his cannon up to the summit of a neighbouring hill, from whence it played on the enemy's cavalry, that had begun to press him, with such success as forced them to retreat. Upon this the princes of the Union also drew

Incapacity
of Anspach,
general of
the forces
raised by
the princes
of the
Union.

⁴⁷ Gon. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 13.

their artillery up another hill, on the right hand of Spinola. There was a wide valley between the armies, and in the midst of that valley a third hill, covered with cottages and vineyards. By this hill the hostile armies were mutually concealed, and it was only from the summit of this, that the one general could review the situation and movements of the other. As soon as the princes of the Union perceived that the Spaniards were glad to fortify themselves in a strong position, they rightly concluded that the enemy were inferior to themselves in numbers and strength; and therefore resolved to attack them. It was agreed on, that the English should begin the charge. Horatio Vere had for this purpose selected eighty musketeers out of every division of the regiment. The whole army, full of ardor, stood impatient for an engagement: but the evening approached, and the men still lay on their arms. The English general, wearied with this delay, rode up the hill of vineyards, accompanied with the earls of Oxford and Essex, to survey the posture of the enemy. They were retreating in good order, and in deep silence. The foot marched first, the waggons with the baggage proceeded next, in two ranks, as a species of fortification to the infantry, and the horse brought up the rear. In this order they marched with all possible speed to Oppenheim. Anspach was posted nearer to that city than Spinola, and it was in his power either to reduce that important place, or to force the Spaniards, under a mighty

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disadvantage, to come to an engagement. The earl of Essex flew to the marquis of Anspach, and entreated him with much emotion and importunity to improve the important and favorable conjuncture. But the marquis replied hastily, and in an angry tone, "There is a fort between us and Oppenheim, and we cannot pass to that place without being at the mercy of the enemy's cannon." Sir Horatio Vere exclaimed, "And when shall we fight, if we shun the cannon⁴⁸?" The season of winter had now arrived. It was uncommonly rigorous. The frost was so intense, that the English officers burnt a great many of their waggons: and as to the common soldiers, they lay in heaps on the ground, close together, like sheep covered with a fleece of snow. One would naturally imagine that the rigor of the season must have been severely felt by the Italians and Spaniards. If we may give credit, however, to the authority of a celebrated Spanish author, those inhabitants of the southern climates bore all the severities of the campaign better than the Germans and the English⁴⁹.

Progress of
the war in
Bohemia.

While the affairs of the emperor prospered in this manner in the Palatinate, they were still more fortunate in Bohemia. That vigilant prince had learnt that Osman, who now filled the Ottoman throne, had promised to occasion a diversion of the Austrian forces, in favor of the Palatine and Gabor, in the next spring, by invading

⁴⁸ This account of the inglorious conduct of Anspach is chiefly taken from the History of king James, by Mr. Wilson, who was an eye-witness of what he reports.

⁴⁹ Hist. de Don Fellope III. &c. por Gon. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 12. 14.

Poland; he, therefore, urged the dukes of Bavaria and Saxony to collect their forces, to advance upon the strength of the enemy, and, by operations equally rapid and decisive, to determine the issue of the war, before time and accidents should turn the tide of fortune, and strengthen the hands of Frederic. Saxony instantly took the field with twenty-four thousand men, poured into Lusatia, laid Budissen, the capital, in ashes, and quickly reduced the whole province under the authority of the emperor. Having accomplished this object, he dispatched fourteen thousand troops into Silesia. This force reduced Glogaw, a city on the Oder, which, by opening a communication with the Baltic, secured a firm footing in a fertile and extensive country.

In the mean time, the duke of Bavaria, at the head of twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, marched into the Austrias. The Lower Austria immediately returned to its allegiance, and was received into the protection of the emperor. The Higher, at first, disdained to follow this example of submission. A garrison of two thousand soldiers, thrown into Lintz, the capital, by count Mansfeldt, had inspired the states with a degree of confidence and resolution, which was not to be overcome by an apprehension of danger, while it was yet distant. But the near approach of Bavaria struck them so forcibly, that, although their own force was not

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diminished, nor that of the duke greater than they had all along suspected, they sent a message desiring conditions of peace. Bavaria, contemning their late applications, took Lintz by assault on the 4th of August, punished the chief authors of the rebellion with death, imposed on those he spared, the burden of a strong garrison, and chastised the whole country with the ravages of war. As there was not in the whole province any castle or fortrefs that was able to withstand the conqueror of the capital, all the chief men either submitted to the emperor or fled into Bohemia. Having thus re-established peace, together with obedience, in Austria, Bavaria passed on, in order to join count Bucquoy, who opposed, with various fortune, the Bohemian army, whose head-quarters at this time was Egleburgh⁵⁰. The count, according to orders from his prince, marched from Langlovits to Budovits. Here he was joined by the duke of Bavaria: and the two generals having had a short conference, the different armies continued their march, by different routes, towards Prague. On the 10th day of October, they both of them, whether by concert, or by accident, drew near to Pilsen. Hitherto their divided forces had reduced every place that was situated in the tracts through which they bent their courses: and the footsteps of the Cossacs were every where marked with blood.

⁵⁰ Gon. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. x. Batt. Nan. lib. x.

But Pilsen resisted their united power, being defended by the subtilty and refinement of Mansfeldt. The count being summoned to surrender to the combined armies of his imperial majesty and the duke of Bavaria, demanded a cessation of arms, and proposed a treaty of accommodation. He insinuated, in a letter which he wrote to the duke and Bucquoy, some general complaints of the injustice of fortune, and of his own hard fate, which had doomed him to struggle with difficulties, and to be rewarded with ingratitude and disappointment. The commanders to whom these hints were addressed, considered them as an advance on the part of Mansfeldt, to surrender the town and garrison of Pilsen, upon those conditions which politicians sometimes take the liberty of holding out to soldiers of fortune. A circumstance had taken place, which shall by and by be mentioned, that enabled them to comprehend, as they imagined, the count's meaning, and which inclined them at the same time to give easy credit to his sincerity. They did not hesitate, therefore, a moment, to transmit to Mansfeldt a very friendly letter, in which they endeavoured to restore him to the interests of the house of Austria by the most liberal promises of preferment and fortune. But Ferdinand had not treasures sufficient to bend the inflexible spirit of that gallant hero; nor was it in his power to have set before his eyes so glorious an object at once of ambition and revenge, as that which he now pursued. Mansfeldt, however, counterfeited a satis-

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Mansfeldt
amuses the
imperial
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faction in the assurances that had been given him: but he declined to surrender the place, and the troops he commanded, without saving his honor, by making a show of resistance. The imperial generals perceived at last that they had been the dupes of artifice⁵¹. There was no reason to despair of being able to reduce Pilsen by force of arms: but the obstinate valor of Mansfeldt, it was probable would render the siege tedious, and, in the present crisis, every moment was precious. After being amused for thirteen days, they pushed on towards Prague, and, at Raconits, encountered with the Bohemian army, which was now conducted by the marquis of Anhalt and count Hollach, his lieutenant general. These men were but little acquainted with military affairs; but they possessed the ear of the Palatine, who, passing by the distinguished merit of the counts Thorn and Mansfeldt, bestowed his confidence where he had placed his favor. This was the circumstance which gave credit to the pretences of Mansfeldt, and enabled him to impose on his adversaries at Pilsen.

Adjoining to Raconits, on the west, stood a hill, covered from the bottom upwards, to the middle, with a thick and intricate forest of pine and fir trees, whose close and feathered branches intertwined with one another, and reaching to the very ground, formed a shade impervious to the rays of the sun, and a retreat to wild beasts. In this natural fortress, Anhalt resolved to make a

⁵¹ Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1620.

stand, and to wait the approach of the enemy. He formed a camp for the infantry on the upper part of the hill, and defended the approaches to the whole, by the cavalry, and five hundred musketeers. As it would have been dangerous to have advanced to Prague, leaving so great a force behind them, the imperialists resolved to assault the hill on all hands, and, to provoke the enemy, if possible, to an engagement. But, if, in this attempt, they should be unsuccessful, they hoped at least to derive some advantage from that spirit which is infused by an attack, and from that depression of courage, and loss of reputation which the Bohemians would suffer by declining an action. The most desperate efforts were accordingly made to dislodge the Palatine, by setting fire to the vegetable rampart that protected him, and opening avenues for the ascent of the imperial troops, by the hatchet. In this attempt, many officers as well as private men fell, and Bucquoy himself was grievously wounded. On the 5th of November, Anhalt perceived the imperial army in motion. Upon this, he dispatched count Thorn with a considerable force to Prague, to strengthen the city, and to fortify the wavering minds of the inhabitants. He himself, followed soon after with the main army. He left his baggage behind, and, by forced marches, through unfrequented paths, accross the mountains, arrived before the imperialists, at the Bohemian capital. The vast extent of that city, which was open in many places to

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hostile invasion, determined Anhalt to post his army on the Wisenberg⁵².

The Wisenberg, or White Hill, is of no great height or circumference, but, being cut and broken by crags and deep ravines, it is of difficult access, except on that side which looks towards Prague, where an inclined plain, of equal fertility and beauty, extends from its summit to the walls of the city. The lower part of this declining space was covered with a range of houses, or rather a straggling village, which formed part of the suburbs of Prague; the middlemost was an extensive park, adorned with a wood, and a royal palace, called the Star; the higher overlooked, and in many places commanded the capital. In this strong position, the Bohemian general drew up his forces, and here he determined to abide the assault of the enemy. The various projections and incurvations of the hill, improved by art, seemed to defy the boldest assailants. And that the men might not be tempted to abandon so advantageous a station, Anhalt ordered the gates of the city to be shut, and signified what he had done, to every division of the army. Having taken this precaution, he ranged his troops in order of battle, and waited the approach of the enemy⁵³.

⁵² Gon. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 14. Batt. Nan. lib. iv.
1620.

⁵³ Hist. [[de] Don Felipe III. por Gon. de Cef. lib. i.
cap. 14.

The imperialists, who had by this time advanced within half a league of Prague, were struck with the advantageous situation of the Bohemians, and deliberated, whether or no they should give them battle. But the advanced season would not permit them much longer to keep the field; and in the spring, thirty thousand Turks⁵⁴ would be added to the number of their enemies. All the friends of Ferdinand had already taken an active part in his cause, and his whole force was now in exertion. The powers, on the other hand, that formed the natural allies of Frederic, from causes that could not be permanent, stood many of them aloof, as if indifferent to his fortune, but would assuredly join in support of his cause, if the sovereign authority should be confirmed in the hands of that prince by length of time, as well as by actual possession. In many cases it was more prudent to guard against disaster than to run any great risque for the sake of victory. But in cases of rebellion there was not room for delay, for the loss of time was equal to misfortune in the field of battle⁵⁵. The enemy was, indeed, strongly posted: but the fate of battles depended on accidents, not to be foreseen by human prudence; and the steady valor of

⁵⁴ Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII. Roy de France, et des principaux événemens arrivés pendant ce Regne dans tous les Païs du Monde.

⁵⁵ In discordiis civilibus nihil festinatione tutius, ubi facto magis quam consulto opus est. Nec cunctatione opus, ubi perniciosior sit quies, quam temeritas. Tacitus.

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the Imperialists, was more likely to bear up under any unforeseen and adverse circumstance, than the tumultuous courage of the undisciplined Bohemians. There was yet another consideration, which, of all others, had the greatest weight in the present question. The sermons of father Dominico, a bare-footed Carmelite, who assured the army that the Lord of Hosts would go forth with their standard in his own cause, had infused into the foldiers an impatient ardor to charge the heretics: so important, in those days, was the office of a military chaplain⁵⁶! On the whole, it was resolved to storm the hill: the troops were formed in order of battle; the Imperialists on the right hand, and the Bavarians on the left. They advanced upon the enemy by the way of Stratzis, the only way that was practicable. Pursuing this course, they were obliged to march in a file over a bridge, and then, before they should arrive at the bottom of the Wisenberg, a miry valley. The younger Anhalt, son of the general, perceived the advantage to be derived from this embarrassing situation, and was all on fire to improve it. He proposed, after allowing such numbers of the Imperialists to pass the bridge as should greatly weaken the main body of the army on the other side, to attack them before they should be formed, and while struggling with the difficulties of marshy ground. This plan of young Anhalt, which was not less prudent than

⁵⁶ Batt. Nan. iv. 1620. Gon. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 14.

courageous, appeared to Hollach, the lieutenant-general, the effect of youthful impetuosity. The Imperialists were allowed to excrete themselves from their embarrassment, without any other inconvenience than what they suffered from the Bohemian artillery. In order to avoid this, they hastened their march, until the prominencies of the hill afforded them protection. Then, having put themselves in the best order that the time and the nature of the ground would admit, they pressed up the Wisenberg with deliberate valor, and made a furious attack upon the enemy. The shouting of the soldiers, the noise of trumpets and drums, and the roaring of artillery, reverberated from the inflections and cavities of the hill, announced the commencement of the important onset, and shook the country for many leagues around with terror. Prague, as being nearer to the dreadful scene, was more sensibly struck with its horrors, and trembled in awful expectation of the eventful issue. Frederic, on whose account the contending armies profusely shed their blood, beheld from the battlements of his palace⁵⁷, on the one hand the spacious capital of Bohemia, and on the other the fierce engagement that was to dispose of the Bohemian crown⁵⁸. At the beginning of the conflict, fortune seemed to smile on the Bohemians; for young Anhalt, supported by count Slich, repulsed

⁵⁷ In the Star Park already described.

⁵⁸ Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1620. Gon. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 14.

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with great slaughter the first assault. This assault was made by count Tilly, lieutenant-general to the duke of Bavaria. But the veteran troops, which formed the strength of the Imperial army, sustained this disaster with that firmness which results from discipline, and a glorious reputation. On this occasion the wounded Bucquoi signalized his own spirit, and re-animated the hearts of the fearful. He had been carried in a litter to his tent in the camp, there to wait the event of the action. But he no sooner saw the Imperialists hardly pressed by the Bohemians, than he jumped out of his carriage, and feverish as he was, mounted the first horse he found, put himself at the head of his troops, and attacked the Hungarians with such fury, that he left near two thousand, as was computed, dead on the spot⁵⁹. The Walloons, commanded by William Verdu-go, next to Bucquoi, had the honor of restoring the battle. They took young Anhalt and count Slich prisoners, and having made themselves masters of a redoubt, with three pieces of cannon, turned the artillery with prodigious effect against the thick squadrons of the enemy. The panic that was struck among undisciplined troops, by this sudden reverse of fortune; the fright and confusion that had taken place among the Hungarian cavalry, from the yelling of the Cossacs; together with a steady and unremitted fire both of cannon and musquetry, in spite of the

⁵⁹ Hist. du regne de Louis XIII. et des événemens, etc.

exhortations, the threats, and the example of the generals and other officers, threw the whole Bohemian army into irrecoverable disorder and terror. A general rout ensued. All was lost, but the honor of having made a brave resistance. Anhalt, having first dispatched a message to the Palatine, provided for his own safety. The regiment of count Thorn was the last that quitted the field. The Wisenberg was covered with the arms of the fugitives, and the bodies of the slain. Multitudes seeking to escape from the edge of the sword, perished in the Mulda. Five thousand Bohemians, that had been posted in the Star Park, threw down their arms, and cast themselves upon the clemency of the victors. The generals were willing to give them quarter; but the Cossacs remaining equally deaf to the orders of the commander, and to the cries of the flying victims, sheathed the sword only when the arm was weary with shedding blood⁶⁰.

This important victory restored to Ferdinand the crown of Bohemia, and rendered the authority of Austria over that kingdom more absolute than ever. Whatever privileges and immunities the Bohemian states had formerly enjoyed, whether as their ancient rights, or the concessions of their kings, were, by a royal edict, abolished or revoked. The electoral dignity, and afterwards the estates of Frederic were, by the mere authority of the emperor, transferred to the duke of Bavaria. His principal adherents were proscribed;

Important consequences of the battle of Prague.

⁶⁰ Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1620.

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and all those rigors and severities exercised against the professors of the reformed religion, which were to be expected from a vigorous, unrelenting, and bigoted conqueror. The misfortunes that awaited the elector Palatine were singularly affecting; nor, has ever the tragic muse invented scenes more fitted to purge the minds of men with sympathetic sorrow. In the silence of the night that followed the fatal 9th of November, he fled with his wife and little children into Silesia, where he met with the common reception of unfortunate princes. His abode among a people, determined to make their peace with his mortal enemy, was as short as it was comfortless. He wandered with his family from place to place, still fondly hoping to retrieve his fortune by arms, or by negociation. In the midst of his peregrinations, two domestic events of contrary natures equally dissolved his soul into the tenderest anguish. At Brandenburg, whither he had retired from Silesia, he was reminded how much his family had suffered from his imprudent ambition, by the birth of a son⁶¹. The same reflection occurred, in all its bitterness, some years after, on a journey to Amsterdam. As he was passing over the Harlem-mer, in a dark and tempestuous night, the light vessel in which he sailed foundered on another, against which it was driven by the fury of the wind and waves. Before the ship sunk, the Palatine, with some other

⁶¹ Hist. du regne de Louis XIII. et des événemens principaux, &c.

passengers,

passengers, made their escape to that other vessel; but the prince, his son, was unfortunately left in the foundered vessel, which they durst not approach, though they heard the cries of the boy, calling for the help of his father. The next day, when the tempest abated, they found him frozen to the mast, which he had embraced as his last refuge⁶². While the unfortunate Frederic was thus wrestling with adversity, his friends and allies left him, one after another, and sought to reconcile themselves to the emperor. Even the brave and active prince of Transylvania, who, after the battle of Prague, had the courage to march his troops to the frontiers of the Lower Austria, maintaining his army by the plunder of the Catholic subjects of his enemy, even he would have abandoned the common cause, and given up the interests of his ally, if he could have exchanged the crown for the viceroyalty of Hungary⁶³. Count Mansfeldt alone, with a small army, which he subsisted chiefly by pillage and free quarters, still maintained the cause of Frederic; and his successful boldness encouraged duke Christian of Brunswic, and the marquis of Baden Dourlach, to appear at the head of armies on the same side. These princes were defeated by the Imperialists under count Tilly. But Mansfeldt, though much inferior in force to his enemies, still maintained the war, and discovered,

Courage
and con-
stancy of
count
Mansfeldt.

⁶² History of King James, by Arthur Wilson, Esq.

⁶³ Bat. Nan. lib. iv. 1620. Gon. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 15.

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at once, the most wonderful caution in securing his own troops, and the greatest valor in annoying those of the enemy. For the space of two years, he defied, with a small flying army, the whole house of Austria when in the zenith of its power, and would probably have prolonged the contest to a more distant period, if the Palatine, at the instigation of the king of England, had not, under color of submission to the emperor, dismissed him from his service. The count withdrew his army into the Low Countries, and there entered in the service of the United Provinces “.

At the same time that the treasures and arms of Spain were employed, with so much success, in supporting and extending the authority of Ferdinand in Germany, the duke of Feria, by the subjection of the Valteline, consolidated the territories of both branches of the Austrian race into one extensive and mighty empire.

Revolt of
the Valte-
line.

The Valteline extends from the lake of Como, in Milan, winding in an easterly direction between two ridges of lofty mountains, to the county of Tyrol, and of the vallies of Sol and Munster; from which regions it is separated by the hills of Braulio, which may be crossed in the space of six or eight hours. On the north, it is bounded by the Alps, and, on the south, by the territories of the Venetian republic. Its length is seventy miles; its breadth, if we reckon from the

“ Hume's History of Great Britain. Reign of James I. anno 1622.

summits of the enclosing mountains, forty; but, if from their roots, on a medium, not above six. It is watered by the river Adda, and being exceedingly fertile in cattle, corn, and wine, it abounded in towns and villages full of people. The inhabitants of this valley are said to have been of a mild and dispassionate temper; their manners to have been uncultivated and simple; their language and customs Italian. The Valte-line was in former times a part of the principality of Milan; though by this time it had fallen, through various revolutions, under the dominion of the Grisons: those republicans governed this dependent province with a rod of iron, the antipathy that naturally takes place between a conquering and conquered people, being exasperated by that of religion. They interdicted their religious rites and usages, banished the Jesuits, annihilated the jurisdiction of the secular clergy, and converted their churches into places of worship for the Protestants. Colleges were founded, and professors of divinity were brought from Geneva, at the expense of the king of England. And, as the Grisons tyrannised over the minds of this unfortunate people, so they in reality enslaved their bodies. They deprived them on various pretences of the fruits of their industry, and even of the patrimony left them by their ancestors. All those who were in the service of the leagues⁶⁶, might commit the greatest enormities

⁶⁶ The civil constitution of the Grisons is a democracy. A certain number of towns and villages composed a community

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on the Catholics with impunity. The government of the Valteline resembled that of Turkey, by Pashas and Janissaries; or the dominion which is now exercised by European merchants over the princes of Asia⁶⁶.

Animated at once by the resolution of despair, a zeal for religion, and private assurances for the most effectual support from the governor of Milan, the Catholics of the Valteline, in one day flew to arms, and surprised and massacred the unwary Protestants. The magistrates, and men of distinction and property were, as usual in all similar commotions, the chief object of their rage. Upwards of three hundred fathers of prosperous families were put to the sword; and their goods, houses, cattle, and estates, seized by the insurgents. Immediately the Catholics chose new magistrates, and, with the aid of money from Spain, erected several forts, which were also garrisoned by Spanish troops. The Grisons, assisted by the wealth of Venice, which enabled them to hire some companies of Swiss, made an effort to regain the Valteline; but were repulsed

or corporation; several communities, a league; and three leagues, assembled by their deputies in a general diet, possessed the supreme power of the republic. The Grisons are represented by writers of those times, but Catholics, as a fierce and intractable people, venal, inconstant, and delighting in blood; and in all respects as the reverse of the simple natives of the Valteline.

⁶⁶ Batt. Nani, lib. iv. 1620. Gon. de Cesp. lib. i. cap. 16.

by the Catholics, supported by near five thousand Spanish foot and horse, with a train of artillery. Thus the conquest of the Palatinate by Spinola, having opened a passage for the Spaniards through Flanders into the heart of Germany; the Spanish territories in Italy being linked to those of Ferdinand by the reduction of the Valteline; and a communication having been already established between the Milanese and Spain, through the ports of Monaco and Final, on the Mediterranean; a chain seemed to be formed for holding the fairest portion of Europe in subjection to the house of Austria.

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Immense power of the house of Austria.

Among the fortunate events of this year, may be ranked the preservation of Naples from the attempts of the duke of Ossuna. How soon that singular man conceived the bold design of converting his delegated into sovereign power, is uncertain. His resolution was fixed the moment he learnt that the court of Madrid intended to deprive him of his government; but it is probable that fluctuating and transient ideas of independency on that court had occupied his mind at an earlier period; for when matters were brought to a crisis, it was only by pursuing his usual tenor of conduct with unusual alacrity, that he endeavoured to accomplish the object of his lofty ambition. It appears that he entertained a hearty contempt for the feeble capacity and temper of his sovereign⁶⁷. He characterized this prince by an

Rebellious designs of the duke of Ossuna.

⁶⁷ Batt. Nan. lib. III. anno 1617.

BOOK image very natural in the mouth of a military man.
VI. Talking of Philip, he was wont to call him,
1620. "The great drum of the monarchy" as if he had been merely an instrument for communicating the orders of the duke of Lerma^a. This contempt of the king, and the distance of Naples from Spain, were perhaps the circumstances which first suggested to Ossuna ideas of raising himself to independent power. These ideas appear to have been uppermost in his mind, when he scornfully declined to solemnize the double marriages, and courted popularity, by distributing the money that had been collected for that purpose among a number of poor virgins.

The means by which this duke, who passed with many for no other than an ingenious madman, endeavoured to bring about his ends were so refined and artful, that a brief account of them will not appear unentertaining to the reader.

The order of nobility, accustomed to look back, and to reverence antiquity, he reasoned, would be averse to innovation, and disposed to support the crown, which they considered as the source of their own eminence in society. He therefore endeavoured by all means to humble the nobles, and by studied insults to diminish that respect which was paid to their rank by the people. He excluded them from all places of power and trust, and even plundered them occasionally of their property. His chief friends

^a Anecdotes du ministere du comte duc d'Olivarez.

and confidents were strangers. Wherever he found a man of courage and genius, whom want or crimes had made desperate, he received him into his bosom, and loaded him with such favors as infallibly attached him to his person. On pretence of quelling commotions, which he himself had industriously excited, he introduced a military force composed of foreigners, who were entirely devoted to his will, and who acknowledged no other master. He had also ships of war under his command, which roved the seas, not under the flag of Spain, but that of the family of Ossuna. In this manner he proposed to train up a naval force, that from habit should look up to him as the only power entitled to direct their motions.

The prizes made by his fleet, and the plunder he ravished from the nobility, he employed in bribing the council of Spain to connive at his enormities, and in increasing his popularity, both in the army and among the great body of the people. Throughout the whole kingdom of Naples he had agents who fomented the natural malignity of the people towards their superiors, and assured them that the duke of Ossuna was the only person to whom they could look up for protection against the tyranny of the court, and the insolence of the nobles. He it was who would relieve them from oppressive taxes, and ease them of all their burdens. One day as he passed by a place where the officers of the revenues, in order to adjust the tax, were weighing certain

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articles of provision, he drew his sword with great appearance of indignation, and cut through the ropes of the scales, signifying by that expressive action, that the fruits of the earth ought to be as free as those celestial influences from whence they spring. At the same time that he was assiduous to gain the favor of the Neapolitan people, he also labored to conciliate the friendship and to secure the support of foreign nations. This purpose he hoped to effect by doing them all the mischief in his power. For this end he left nothing unattempted that might tend to embroil the Spaniards with all their neighbours, and to render their very name hateful to the world. He endeavoured, as has already been observed, to bring the Infidels into Italy, harrassed the fleets and coasts of Venice, and committed piracies on the ships of almost all nations without distinction. In the mean time he entered into a secret correspondence with the Venetian senate, and the duke of Savoy, and assured them that all the hostilities he had committed were the effects of the most positive orders from the court of Madrid. He invited them to join with him in a design he had formed of restoring the liberty of Italy, by driving the Spaniards beyond the mountains. The republic, averse to such hazardous exploits, would not so much as hear the duke's proposal. But Charles Emanuel thought it worthy of consideration, and instantly communicated it to the court of France. In consequence of this, a person was

sent by the mareschal Lefdiguieres to learn the real situation of affairs at Naples ⁶⁹.

The designs of Ossuna did not escape the court of Madrid. The council was unanimous that he ought immediately to be recalled: but whether he would submit to their orders they very much doubted. It was therefore resolved to attempt his removal by stratagem. Orders were instantly dispatched to the cardinal Don Gaspar de Borgia, to hasten from Rome to Naples, to take upon him the government in the room of Ossuna. The cardinal, agreeably to instructions from Madrid, having previously secured the countenance of the governor of Castel Nuovo, introduced himself into that fortress in the silence of the night; and the thunder of the cannon which welcomed the arrival of Borgia, next morning announced the disgrace of Ossuna. Defeated.

But the duke, even while he stood on this precipice, did not resign his power without a struggle to maintain it. He attempted, by means of his emissaries, to rouse an insurrection both of the populace and soldiers. But the possession of the castle, the constant roaring of artillery, expressive of the will and authority of Spain, the acquiescence of the nobility, and those in the civil departments of state; these circumstances operated with irresistible force both on the soldiery and the people, and prevailing over their attachment to Ossuna, maintained their reverence for

⁶⁹ Greg. Let. Hist. Osson. Batt. Nan. lib. iv. 1619. Anecdotes du ministere du Comte Duc d'Olivarez.

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that power which they had been accustomed to obey. The degraded viceroy returned by slow journies into Spain. When he went to court, Philip withdrew his eyes from him, and turned his back. The high-spirited Ossuna, surveying the monarch with contempt, muttered to those who stood nearest him, "The king treats me not as a man but as a child." This discountenance was all the punishment that was inflicted by the meek and gentle king, on a man who had attempted to deprive him of a kingdom. But, in the first year of the succeeding reign, he was thrown into prison, where he died of a dropfy⁷⁰.

The brilliant successes of this year, which diffused through the Spanish nation a general joy, made but a faint impression, where it might naturally be imagined it would have made the greatest. So deep a melancholy had overcast the mind of the king that it would not be brightened up by the greatest national prosperity. In order to revive his spirits by a change of air and of objects, by the advice of his new ministers he set out on a journey into Portugal, accompanied with the prince and princess of Spain, the infanta Maria, several of the nobility, the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, and his confessor. The towns through which he passed testified their joy at his presence by acclamations and triumphal arches. On the feast of St. Peter he made his public entry into

April 22.

⁷⁰ Hist. de Don Felipe IV. por Don Gon. de Cespedes, lib. segundo, capitulo segundo.

Lisbon. The river was covered with all kinds of vessels, which were gaudily decorated, and exhibited the greatest profusion of riches. Thirty-two triumphal arches, adorned with gold and precious stones, displayed in a manner still more pompous the wealth of the capital of Portugal. Philip, struck with so magnificent a spectacle, said, "He never knew before that he was so great a king." Having assembled the cortes, or estates of the kingdom, he received the crown, with the homage of his subjects. The king in return, agreeably to ancient custom, swore that he would preserve inviolate the rights and privileges of his people. The cortes also swore fealty to the prince, as the heir apparent. This they did in conformity to the wishes of the king. For that good prince, convinced that his end was approaching, was anxious to establish his family in peace and comfort. He remained at Lisbon for some months; but, through the infirm state of his health, did not appear much in public. On his return to Madrid he was detained for some time by a severe fit of his distemper at Casa Rubios. Having somewhat recovered he pursued his journey, and employed the short remainder of his life in the settlement of his family. The infant Don Ferdinand, his third son, at the age of ten years received a cardinal's hat, and with the approbation of the pope, was raised by proxy to the see of Toledo, the primacy of Spain, and the richest benefice in Europe.

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On the twenty-fifth day of November the marriage was consummated between the prince and princess of Spain. And on the fourth of December the prince was introduced to the councils of state, in order to learn the importance, and how to discharge the duties of the crown. This measure the king adopted in imitation of his father's conduct with regard to himself. In imitation of the same example he left, for the use of his son, some instructions in writing⁷¹.

Feb. 23.
1621.
Illness of
Philip.

In the month of February the king's illness returned in all its malignity. Soon after his return from the chapel he was taken with a fever, which continued with various intermissions about the space of a month. During all this time his spirits were depressed with the deepest melancholy, and he persevered, notwithstanding some encouragement from the physicians, in expressing his full assurance that he should die. He desired that the image of the Holy Virgin of Antiochia should be carried about, which was performed on Sunday the twenty-eighth, in a solemn procession, at which the counsellors of Spain and many of the other nobles assisted. In the evening of that day commandment was given to all the churches of Madrid to place the blessed sacrament upon the altars. On Monday, about four o'clock in the evening, the king grew worse than ever. He had before been seized at different times with a violent

March.

29th.

⁷¹ Hist. de Don Felipe, &c. por Gon. de Cespedes, lib. i. cap. 7. 16. 18. Anecdotes du ministere du Comte Duc d'Olivarez. Amelot de la Houssaie.

vomiting and a diarrhœa. Blisters now appeared on his limbs and other parts of his body; and the physicians feeling his pulse, said unanimously, "That they undoubtedly assented to the king in the opinion he entertained of his infirmity." He then, in the presence of his confessor, with other divines, the grandees of Spain, the presidents of the different councils, and the first lord of his bed-chamber, authorized the president of Castile to affix in his name, for his hand shook greatly, the royal signature to a codicil he dictated in addition to his testament, which he had already made at Casa Rubios. This being done, he gave orders that other presents, besides those he had already appointed, should be given to his confessor, and to his servants. After this, his physicians persuaded him to take some food; they also advised him to compose himself for sleep; but he answered, "On so long a journey, and in so short a time for performing it, I must not rest." He now desired as the last action of his life, to see, to address, and to bless his children. He told the prince that he had sent for him that he might behold the vanity of crowns and tiaras, and learn to prepare for eternity. To the child Don Carlos he spoke long and in a low tone of voice. He then said aloud to the prince, "I recommend the child to your protection. It grieves me that I should leave him unprovided; but I hope that I leave him in the hands of a good and affectionate brother." Then appeared the infanta Maria, and the infant cardinal.

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At the approach of the infanta he burst into tears, and said, "Maria, I am full sorry that I must die before I have married thee;" but this thy brother will take care of: and turning about he said, "Prince, do not forsake her till you have made her an empress." He then spoke to the cardinal infant, whom he had appointed, when he should be of a fit age, to be archbishop of Toledo. He should be much grieved, he said, if he thought that he would not undertake, and faithfully discharge the duties of that sacred office. He also sent for the princess of Spain; but she fainted away as soon as she entered the king's bed-chamber, and was conducted back to her own apartment. It was not thought proper that she should make a second effort to see the dying king, as she was now in the fourth month of her pregnancy. When what had happened to the princess was reported to the king, he was melted into compassion, and greatly affected at so striking an instance of sensibility and filial love. He professed a firm belief that the princess loved him as well as any of his own children. She would lose a good father, he added, and that he had always loved her tenderly. Afterwards, giving them all his blessing, he dismissed them with many prayers for their happiness, both here and hereafter. The blessed sacrament was administered to him about midnight. He received the extreme unction at two o'clock in the morning. During the whole time of his illness he made a constant confession of his sins, and implored

divine mercy. He confessed to all around him that he had often been guilty of dissimulation in matters of government; he regretted his supine indolence, and blamed himself greatly for having devolved the cares of the state on his ministers; and when he reflected that he had not in all things made the will of God the rule of his government, he trembled, crying out at different times, "Oh! if it should please heaven to prolong my life, how different should my future be from my past conduct!" But in the midst of his troubled thoughts he found consolation in the mercies of God; and embracing a crucifix, he expressed his hope, that the Redeemer of the world would not leave his soul in hell, but that, after many ages of painful purification, he would receive him at last into the mansions of the blessed. At devotion so affecting the spectators burst into tears; and at that instant father Jerome of Florence came up to the bed on which the king lay. The father, unwilling to bruise a broken reed, held up to the view of the pious monarch the consolations of religion, and expatiated on the exemplary purity of his life, and that zeal which had appeared throughout the whole of his reign for the Roman catholic religion. The alternate tumults of hope and fear that had so long agitated the mind of the king, at last subsided into a gentle calm, and he died in all the tranquillity of faith, on the last day of March, in the forty-third

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His death.

BOOK VI. year of his life, and the twenty-third of his reign⁷².

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And character.

The pliant, mild, and religious disposition of this prince would have well entitled him to the praise of *pious and good*⁷³, if the natural benevolence of his temper had not been controlled, in many important instances, by the bigotry, and his piety deeply tingured with the follies of superstition. His amiable and inoffensive manners would have adorned a private station; but he was adverse to the trouble, and destitute of the talents for governing a great kingdom.

Review of his reign.

The disposition of the minister, upon whom, on his accession to the throne, he devolved the honors and the cares of government, was, like his own, gentle and pacific; and pacific measures were necessary in the exhausted state of the empire. But a spirit of domination had taken root in the councils of Spain; the confidents and veteran commanders of Philip II. still breathed war; war was the general voice of the nation; and, though peace was the interest of the monarchy, its predominant passion was the love of glory. The nobles had recovered in the present, a considerable share of that importance which they had lost during the two preceding reigns.

⁷² A letter from Spain touching the manner of the death of king Philip III. directed to Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador here in England, A. D. 1621, found among Dr. Birch's Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum, No. 4108. Gon. de Céspedes, lib. i. cap. 18.

⁷³ FELLIPPE PIO Y BUENO.

And

And if the king was governed by the dukes of Lerma and Uzeda, these ministers were themselves obliged, in all momentous affairs, to comply with the general bent of the kingdom. The ambitious maxims which had been impressed on the ductile mind of Philip, from his earliest infancy, the bigotry of a false religion, and the warlike temper of the nation, prevailed for many years over that love of tranquillity which distinguished both the king and his minister, and also over the interests of the nation. The war was prosecuted, but not with success. The military discipline, valor, and skill of the Spaniards were yet undiminished; but vigor and prudence were wanting in their counsels. No attention was paid to the trade and manufactures of the Netherlands, Portugal, or Spain. The chief object with administration, was to bring home in safety the treasures of America; remittances, which distance and the naval power of the enemy rendered infinitely slow and precarious, and which passed with rapidity, through a thousand channels, into the hands of their industrious enemies. The resources of war were dried up; the public finances were deficient; yet, even in this situation of affairs, plans were formed for exciting a rebellion in France; and an armament was equipped for the conquest of Ireland. The attention of the Spaniards was thus distracted by different views, and diverted from that which, while they chose to pursue it, ought to have been its only object.

B O O K

VI.

1621.

The attachment to liberty, the enthusiasm of religion, laborious industry, with public and private economy prevailed, but not till after a struggle of near half a century, over the wealth, the reputation, and disciplined valor of the numerous armies of Spain; and this haughty nation was obliged at last to hearken to terms of accommodation. It was indeed in a great measure owing to misconduct and want of vigor on the part of the Spanish ministers, that the war had not been attended with greater success; but they had judged wisely in resolving to bring it to a conclusion. Nor was there any reason to doubt that the truce would prove as advantageous to the Spaniards as to the Dutch, if those who held the reins of the Spanish government should afterwards conduct themselves with that prudence, moderation, and wise economy, which they might have been taught by past experience.

But the world was yet ignorant that domestic industry is preferable to extended dominion. This doctrine, which was but just beginning to influence the cabinets of princes, in the period under review, was scarcely thought of; nor has it yet had any visible influence in the counsels of Spain, after its truth has been proved by the experience of near three centuries. That the strength of any country chiefly consists in the industry and number of its inhabitants, is indeed a truth deducible not only from experience, but from reason. A kingdom, compact and populous, has a mighty advantage over one thinly inhabited

and of great extent. The former resembles a gar-
 rison within the narrow limits of a well constructed
 fortrefs, which is able to resist the assaults of supe-
 rior numbers without, and often to make successful
 sallies: the latter, a fortification on too large a
 scale, whose extensive works cannot be defended
 with effect, against all the attacks of a vigilant and
 active enemy. This important truth is illustrated
 in a very striking manner, by the circumstances
 of the Spanish monarchy during the reign of Fer-
 dinand of Arragon, contrasted with its situation in
 that of Philip III. In the first of these periods the
 dominion of Spain extended over the kingdom of
 Naples, and all the islands of the Mediterranean,
 from the Straits of Gibraltar to the southern
 extremity of Italy, besides Tripoli, Bugia, Oran,
 Mazalquivir, and other towns on the coast of
 Africa. The small kingdom of Portugal, though
 governed hitherto by its native princes, it was easy
 to foresee, would sooner or later be reduced by
 policy or by arms, under the power so that greatly
 preponderated in that peninsula, of which it
 formed a part. The vicissitudes of fortune had
 never conspired more harmoniously with the ope-
 rations of nature to form a mighty and durable
 empire. The branches were not so ponderous,
 or stretched out to so great a length, as to fall off
 and to lacerate the parent stock; but, on the
 contrary, they were such as returned the nourish-
 ment they drew, with increase. The populousness,
 the industry, the martial spirit of Spain, rendered
 it at that period the most powerful monarchy in

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Europe, and formidable to all its neighbours. But in the reign of Philip III. the imperial power of Spain, which extended over a greater part of the globe than that of Rome in the zenith of her power, was foiled in a contest with a small territory, peopled with manufacturers and merchants.

The Spanish nation, after this mortifying defeat, sought to conceal its want of power by an increase of pomp and splendor⁷⁴; and to recover, and even extend its authority by intrigue and negotiation. The first of these arts, in the present times, appears somewhat frivolous. It ought, however, to be considered, that in those days the ancient hospitality and magnificence still remained, and were considered as very important circumstances in government⁷⁵. As to the second, never certainly were intrigues and negotiations conducted with more address, or crowned with greater success. The Spanish ambassadors generally governed the courts at which they resided: and it was in the reign of the feeble Philip III. that those chains were forged, which for so many years alarmed the nations, and which, if they had not been burst asunder by the vigorous arm of Gustavus Adolphus,

⁷⁴ See Appendix, C.

⁷⁵ Chamberlayne mentions, as a proof of the moderation and economy of the elector Palatine, that when he came to England to pay his court to the princess Elizabeth, he had a small train of sober well-fashioned gentlemen, servants and all not exceeding one hundred and seventy. Birch's Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum.

and the generals trained up to war under his standard, would have extended the authority of Austria over Europe.

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While few nations from the Euxine and the Baltic to the Pyrenean mountains, escaped the calamities of war, Spain enjoyed the supreme blessing of profound peace. The success of her arms in Germany retrieved that loss of reputation which she had suffered in the Netherlands. And as it is the prerogative of military renown to dictate many circumstances of custom and fashion, the dress and manners of Spain were very generally imitated by other nations⁷⁶. The magnificence of the court was supported at an incredible expense; and the Spaniards were still esteemed the first nation in the world. This splendid face of things had an imposing air abroad; but the nation at home, oppressed with taxes, suffered for all its acquisitions and triumphs.

⁷⁶ As it is common to say of a man of fashion, on his return from the continent, that he is very much Frenchified, so in those times travellers generally became very much Spanishified. "Mr. Rossingham, says Mr. Chamberlayne, is come home so Spanishified that I hardly knew him when he saluted me." Birch's Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum.

A P P E N D I X.

(VOL. I. Page 136.)

A journal of the Conference betwixt his Majesty's Commissioners, and the Commissioners of the King of Spain, and Arch-Dukes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundy, &c. at the treating and concluding of a Peace with the aforesaid Princes at Somerset-House in London, Anno 1604.

May
1604.

SUNDAY the 2d of this instant the earl of Dorset, lord high treasurer, the earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral, the earls of Devonshire and Northampton, and the lord Cecil, principal secretary, being appointed commissioners by his majesty to treat with Don Juan de Taxis Conde de Villa Medina the Spanish ambassador, and signor Alexander de Rouida a senator of Milan, commissioners, authorized on the behalf of the king of Spain and the count of Aremberg, the president Richardot, and the audiencer Verriken authorized in the like manner on the behalf of the archdukes of Austria, Burgundy, &c. to treat about the making and concluding of a firm peace and amity betwixt his majesty's kingdom and subjects and the aforesaid princes' subjects and dominions, their lordships repaired to Somerset-house, the lodging of the said Spanish ambassador, and there, with the rest of the other commissioners, entered into a common conference concerning the said business.

A fair great chamber, heretofore used for the council-chamber in the said house, was expressly prepared by his majesty for the said meeting, and it was thought fit to give the said commissioners the place of the right hand at the table, in respect of the great honor done to his majesty in sending of the said commissioners to treat here within this realm.

The said commissioners being placed together on the right hand of the table, and their lordships on the left hand in the same manner, the earl of Northampton in a speech in the Latin language, fraught according to the manner of the times, with many quotations and allusions to the sacred scriptures, and the Grecian and Roman literature, among other things, congratulated his audience on the prospect of peace; set forth the pacific dispositions as well as prosperous fortune of his Britannic majesty; expatiated on the duty of sacrificing all passions, whether of individuals, or of the times, to the general good of mankind; mentioned several circumstances which ought naturally to conciliate peace and good will between the king of Spain, and the princes of the house of Burgundy on the one part, and the king of Great Britain and Ireland on the other; and expressed, in conclusion, his ardent wishes and hopes that not only would a good correspondence be re-established between those princes, of which he did not entertain any doubts, but that all grounds of animosity, jealousies, and contention would be removed from the breasts of their respective subjects.

After the earl of Northampton had ended his speech, the senator of Milan made also a speech in Latin at greater length, and more religious, learned, and elaborate than that of Northampton. In this speech, among other particulars, he reminds the commissioners of the marked proofs of sincere congratulation which his master the king of Spain, had given to his Britannic majesty, on his accession to the crowns of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and of the professions of friendship and amity, which on that occasion his most serene highness the king of Great Britain had made to his most Catholic majesty. The mutual professions of good will which then took place between those princes seemed to the senator of Milan to resemble that “rushing of a mighty wind” which preceded the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, and therefore he exhorts them to banish from their councils all passions and prejudices of every kind, animadverts severely and fully on certain denominations, and classes or kinds of men¹, who would endeavour all that was in their power to obstruct the present negociation for peace; calls to mind the ancient habits and bands of friendship which had subsisted between the kings of Great Britain and the princes of the house of Austria; bestows the highest praises on king James on account of his pacific disposition; expresses the utmost satisfaction and joy at the general appearance of a pacific disposition throughout Europe; exhorts all the European princes to peace among themselves, and animates

¹ Hominum Genera.

them to a common resistance of the Turks, the common enemy of Christendom. He prays for a return of peace and commerce with all their blessings; he promises his utmost endeavours for effectuating so desirable an object, and appeals to God for the sincerity of his declarations.

The president Richardot made a short declaration in French, to the like effect, of the affectionate desire of his princes to continue and maintain the good amity which had been ever between his majesty and them; and that to that end, and not to fail in the performance of any kind and loving office towards his majesty, the said princes his masters sent to congratulate his majesty's coming to the crown. So because it hath heretofore fallen out, either in respect of the unhappiness of the former times, or by God's just judgment for our sins, or by other occasion, that there have reigned great dissensions between the kings of England and the princes of the Low Countries, now possessed by the said princes, which heretofore could not be determined, their desire was both for the assurance of the public quiet of Christendom, which hath received no small interruption by those differences, and to renew the ancient amity and friendship which hath been ever carefully cherished between this state and the said provinces, to conclude such a firm peace and solid amity between his majesty and the said princes as might be for the common utility of both their states, which they hoped would accordingly succeed to the effect desired by them, out of the trial which they have always made of his majesty's princely and Christian

inclination to so good a work; and out of the same assurance for the like respects of interest, they had solicited the king of Spain to join in common treaty with them, which he prayed God to bless with a happy and fruitful success.

The several speeches being made and ended, it was signified by the lord Cecil that their next proceeding ought to be, according to their use and order, to exhibit their several commissions to each other's considerations. Whereupon the same was accordingly done of all parties, and the Spanish ambassador did first read the immediate commission which was granted by the king of Spain to the constable of Castile, whereby not only absolute power was given to himself to treat and conclude a peace, but also a farther authority (as they did enforce) by the words, *tratar y hazer tratar*, to constitute and sub-delegate other commissioners according to the power whereof they declared that the said constable had sub-delegated, by another special commission from himself which was also showed and read. The said Spanish ambassador, and signor Alexander Rouida to be in his absence commissioners for the king of Spain, to proceed in the said treaty; and furthermore, the said ambassador produced a letter written from the king of Spain unto himself whereby he did nominate and appoint him to be a commissioner in the said treaty; that being done the lord treasurer proceeded in the reading of his majesty's commission; and afterwards the count Aremberg did in the like manner read the commission of the archduke and the Infanta

and copies were delivered interchangeably to each other, of all their commissions.

Their lordships, conceiving to have cause to note some defects in the Spanish commissions, as well in that it appeared by the same, that they were to treat with sub-delegates, whose authority was derived from the power of the constable's commission, as also for that it seemed to them that the words *tratar y hazer tratar* were something weak to authorize the said constable to sub-delegate other commissioners under him, their lordships did therefore think fit to withdraw themselves to the lower end of the chamber, to advise of the objections that were necessary to be made to the said commissioners, and after some small time of conference among themselves thereupon, they returned to their former seats, and it was signified to them by the lord Cecil, that although their lordships could not deny that they had cause to receive great contentment in the honorable and forward disposition which both the king of Spain and archdukes had showed to effect the conclusion of a firm peace and amity between his majesty and them, wherein his majesty was willing to answer them with the like correspondence of his part, yet notwithstanding that they hoped that it would not be displeasing unto the said commissioners that their lordships, in careful discharge of their duty towards his majesty and the trust reposed in them, in a matter of so great weight and importance, did acquaint them with those things wherein their lordships in their judgment held themselves bound to be better

satisfied, as being, first, derogatory to the king's honor, that themselves representing the quality which they did of principal counsellors to the king's majesty, should be referred to treat only with commissioners sub-delegated by derived power of the constable of Castile, who although he were to be acknowledged a person of good blood, and chief quality, yet that he was not to be considered for other than a subject of Spain.

And secondly, for that their lordships were doubtful whether the words of *hazer tratar*, were to receive the construction of giving power sufficient thereby to the constable to sub-delegate other commissioners; and that, though it were true, that the commissioners of France treated at Vervins with others authorized by the archduke; being a prince, made a difference therein: and moreover that there was no other meaning at the first meeting of the said commissioners at Vervins, save only for the present to handle matters by way of conference and proposition, so as it was not taken so behoveful to insist upon the due formalities of an exact commission; and therefore, his lordship prayed the commissioners to give their lordships answer to the aforesaid objections, where their lordships conceived it to be very material and fit to be satisfied.

Hereupon the Spanish and archdukes' commissioners withdrew themselves to the lower end of the chamber, and after some conference among themselves, they returned to their former seats, and the senator of Milan, in the name of them

all, delivered this answer, that it was far from the meaning of the king of Spain, by any proceedings of his in this matter, to cast any dishonor upon the king's majesty, but rather, that his intent appeared to be the contrary, by the choice which he had made of the person of the constable to be employed in this business, which he would accordingly have performed by his own presence, if he had not been prevented by his indisposition of body, the which necessity was cause that he had made the said sub-delegation, being unwilling that a business of so great importance should receive any delay; and that as the said constable intended to assist at the conclusion of the treaty, it would in part answer the other objection touching the insufficiency of the words *hazer tratar*, which in the Spanish tongue they held nevertheless to be strong enough to give authority to depute and sub-delegate others, and that it was to be remembered, that, the like exceptions being taken to the same words by the English commissioners at Boulogne, they were afterwards allowed for good and valid; that in the commission given to the archduke for the treaty of Vervins those words were clean omitted, and yet, notwithstanding, no exception taken, but the honor of the prince therein contracting trusted; but that any such doubts were chiefly satisfied, in that the treaties which were made were afterwards to receive their strength and virtue by the confirmation of the princes.

Their lordships said they would acquaint the king with the objections made by them, and the

answers made to the same, and therein receive his majesty's resolution, without the which they durst not further to proceed for the present in a matter of so great weight, and so took leave of them for that time.

On Tuesday the 22d of this instant, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners at the place of their former meeting, and it was then declared unto them by the lord Cecil that their lordships had acquainted the king's majesty with the doubt moved by them upon the view and consideration of the Spanish commission, and with the answers made to the objections, and that thereupon it had pleased his majesty to give them directions to signify unto them, that though his majesty was resolved to be ever truly sensible of any thing that might concern him in honor, yet that out of the reality of his mind he chose to prefer substance before circumstances, and therefore was not willing to insist upon other formalities with them, than only to note unto them, that the manner of their commission did give cause to those which desired not the perfecting and countenance of this amity to disgrace the proceeding therein, for that it was requisite, that, according to the ordinary use, more persons than one should have been joined in the original commission to supply the absence of any one in case of sickness or otherwise, and especially that the omitting to join the Spanish ambassador in the said commission, showed that the order for the foresaid sub-delegation was rather out of purpose disesteeming than by accident;

and although it was sought to be colored with the authority of a special letter written by the king of Spain to him, by the which he was appointed to be a commissioner in the said business, yet that the same doth far differ from the necessary form of a due and powerful commission so as his majesty might be justly moved to appoint commissioners to treat by a like answerable power of sub-delegation: nevertheless because his majesty found that there was no want of authority to treat in the original commission, or reason to doubt of the constable's speedy coming to supply the defect of the said sub-delegation, the Spanish commissioners, after having had some conference among themselves, made answer by the mouth of the senator of Milan.

That they were glad to find, by this real proceeding of the king with them, a confirmation of that noble disposition in confidence whereof their princes had been induced and encouraged to enter into this treaty with him, for the which they did acknowledge both in their masters and in their own name all thankfulness unto his majesty, and particularly also unto their lordships for being a means to reconcile the difference in question, protesting that there was no meaning to proceed otherwise than with like sincerity and integrity also of their part, as they hoped to receive the like measures from their lordships.

Hereupon it was agreed to proceed to the handling and debating of the point of the treaty, and it was moved by the earl of Northampton that

they would begin to make the first propositions of their part, whereunto they assented; and it was signified by the senator of Milan, that the king of Spain did, at the coming of the king's majesty to this crown, lay open the affection of his heart unto him by sending to congratulate with him and to desire the establishing of a sincere and intrinsical friendship with him.

And because of the chance of times between his state and the kingdoms of England and Scotland, the said king desired for his part that the friendship of the said kingdoms might be now so straitly conjoined, as that there might be made a league offensive and defensive between the said princes, to be friend to each other's friends and enemy to their enemy.

The lord Cecil yielded them thanks for the great good will and affection which by their offer they expressed unto his majesty; but gave them to understand that it could no ways agree with the present state of his majesty's affairs to make such league with them at this time as was proposed by them, as well in respect that his majesty should thereby declare and engage himself against those of his own profession of religion, as also for that he should therein violate his amity with France which already did stand between them upon condition of a league offensive and defensive: therefore, that the said proposition would be more proper for some other time hereafter, and for the present that it would be best to advise to establish a firm amity for the assuring of the liberty of trade and free intercourse between the kingdoms and states. It

It was hereupon answered by the senator of Milan, that the king of Spain was moved to tender the aforesaid offer unto the king, out of the affection which had been before declared, and to witness unto him that he would prefer his amity before all others, but if it should be thought inconvenient, for any difficulty, to proceed in those terms of condition, that they would forbear further, to urge the same in that manner: but because they would be glad to make a peace that should extend further than to the effect of an intercourse, they desired their lordships to open themselves what kind of peace the king would make to the princes their masters. The president Richardot used a speech to the like effect on the behalf of the archduke.

The lord Cecil made answer, that they did all agree in the acknowledgment of the mutual and real affection of their masters, for the which he did the more hope that God would bless their work; that their lordships did conceive that it did stand with good order first to conclude and establish a general amity between kingdoms and states whereof the effects are afterwards to ensue, and that in the perusing and digesting of the small points of the treaty, the matters of privileges and customs and other necessary provisions which might be thought fit to be spoken of as they should fall out, would be best handled in their order and course.

The senator of Milan answered, that it was far from their meaning to except against any thing

which had been formerly spoken of, and that it was not otherwise meant to press the order for making of a league offensive and defensive, than as should stand with the king's own good liking, and not to be prejudicial to other princes and states; but he prayed their lordships again to explain themselves what kind of peace the king should make with their princes, their several natures being reduced under those three divisions, either to make a general league offensive and defensive, or else a particular league defensive *sine offensione*, which should bind to assist each other in case of being invaded by a third person, or lastly to make a peace of firm amity and friendship with condition not to attempt any thing to the other's prejudice and wrong.

The lord Cecil answered again, that their progressions had been hitherto to good purpose in that they had declared themselves thus freely to each other, and cleared the doubt of their commission, and that their lordships would be as willing also to give them resolution in this matter of their propositions; because they desired, for the avoiding of misunderstanding, to be clearly instructed of the king's purpose therein, when it was fit, his majesty being so near at hand, to acquaint with a matter of so great importance and weight, their lordships prayed them to give them time to receive his majesty's resolutions upon that point; and that their lordships would return to them again to proceed in the business as soon as the affairs of the parliament, which they were also

necessarily to attend, would give them leave: with the which answer they rested satisfied, and so they took leave of each other for that time.

Friday the 25th their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners in the afternoon, and the lord Cecil then first declared unto them that their lordships had acquainted his majesty with the point, whereupon they paused at their last meeting, and whereupon they thought fit to receive resolution from his majesty's own judgment, and that now they were come to make known his majesty's pleasure therein signified to them; wherein first their lordships held themselves bound to declare truly that which they found of his majesty's gracious and willing inclination to entertain good amity and sincere friendship with the king of Spain and the archduke; and touching the point of making a league offensive and defensive, that his majesty having understood from them the arguments which were made by their lordships, not only against the same, but also against the second proposition for a definitive league, his answer to both the said points shortly was, that there ought not to be used much argument to debate those things which were directly to be refused, for not being of condition which might receive satisfaction; that strict forms were necessary where doubt ought to be made of the parties disposition to observe the conventions; but as his majesty did not refuse the former proposed leagues for want of good affection, so the said former commissioners were to consider the integrity of his majesty's

disposition, that was not willing to enter into a thing that could not yet be accomplished, as his majesty desired, in respect of being otherwise engaged of honor; and therefore, considering the present state of things, that it was fit to resort to the third point for making of a firm peace and amity; but because it would be a fruitless name if the particular conditions were not agreed upon, that it would be necessary first to enter into the consideration of the conveniency of the conditions to be resolved on, and afterwards to frame the form thereof according to the use in cases of marriage, wherein first the articles of covenant are handled between the parents, by way of admission, upon presumption of a future liking to follow between parties whom it is sought to join in marriage. This he declared to be the effect of his majesty's answer to their propositions, with assurance of all kind and loving affection unto the princes their masters.

After the said commissioners had conferred sometime among themselves, the senator of Milan made answer in the name of them all, that the princes their masters did hold themselves confident in the assurance of his Majesty's good will and love towards them, out of the proof which they had formerly made of the same, and being therefore desirous for the better confirming and strengthening of that amity, that the unkindness and difference which had formerly reigned between this state of England and the said princes might be now abolished; the said princes were moved to make the

aforesaid proposition, either by the making of a league offensive and defensive, or only defensive; the first whereof was propounded of good will, and the second to show that there could hardly be entire friendship between any but that they ought to be sensible of each others harm and wrong: but seeing neither of the said propositions could now be accepted, for the reasons which had been before alledged, they desired to reserve them to other times, and better occasion, and in the mean time to proceed to the making of a firm peace and amity in the third, whereof it had been before spoken; and because of the mention made of former treaties to be an impediment of the leagues before recited, he desired their lordships to declare themselves better, whether there were any incompatibility touching the peace to be made with the princes their masters, and any other treaties already made with the king, and to show what those treaties were, and what peace the king would require; for that they knew not that the princes their masters were in difference with *any* other prince or state of Christendom, but only sought the confirming of their own, without any other ambitious desiring. To the said propositions touching matters of treaties, the lord Cecil made answer, that though the king himself might, before the entrance into this kingdom that had in former times difference with others, and treaties thereupon made, he could not now conveniently do any thing that might be in prejudice thereof, whereby they might judge to what interest we stood still engaged of the time past.

The senator of Milan desired their lordships to satisfy them more certainly, what kind of friendship the king would make with their princes for not offending each other, and not ministering help to their enemies, to the end there might be no scruple to hinder the peace, because *in generalibus non est scientia*.

The lord Cecil made answer, that as he did well perceive the force of this argument, so he was willing to give him satisfaction in things which should be reasonably urged; as namely, that there ought to be observances of kind friendship between the said princes, and not to be offensive to each other; but for the expressing of further obligations, and courtesies, in case of the falling out of any differences between either of them and a third prince, that it was not to be looked, that princes would otherwise intermeddle themselves in any such sort than as they should be moved upon occasion of very good desert, but rather that they would be careful for the good of the state still to maintain their necessary interest of intercourse with any such other prince.

The president Richardot said, that it was necessary that they should open themselves more clearly to each other, in order to come to an end of the business: that the example of other princes which had been before mentioned was nothing pertinent to their case, because the princes their masters had amity with all the world, but only the rebellious subjects of Holland, whose protection it was desired that his majesty would quit, and the same was the

point whereupon their princes desired to contract a peace with his majesty: That the archduke did only seek justly to reduce their lawful subjects to their due obedience, and howsoever those of Holland had hitherto forgotten themselves in their duty, that the archduke would be content to receive them upon any reasonable conditions, to the end to avoid the further prosecution of an unhappy war; and the said archduke would be very glad, that it would please his Majesty to be judge and arbitrator in the cause between them; or in case those of Holland should refuse to submit themselves to any conditions of reason, that he hoped his majesty would not think them worthy to be supported by this state; and he desired that it might be remembered, that the performance thereof was agreeable to the protestation made by the late queen to the world, not to undertake the protection of them longer than they might obtain conditions of reason.

The senator of Milan made a speech to the like effect, of the difference that was to be made of the case of another lawful prince in war, and the condition of rebels, who ought rather to be by all means disfavored, than that an intercourse of trade should be entertained with them.

The lord Cecil made them answer, that he was drawn by their last speech to speak of the Hollanders wherein they plainly discovered their object and intent. That it was true, were it not for the distraction growing by their late occasion, there was no color for any difference to be between the

king and the princes their masters : he desired that he might not be pressed to dispute whether they were rebels or not ; but that he would boldly affirm , that the contracts which were made by the deceased virtuous and pious princeſs , whose memory he was bound to honor , with them which called themselves by the name of the United Provinces , were done upon very juſt and good cauſe. He deſired that they would proceed to agree to the peace that was to be made , and if they thought it not fit to take any other concluſions until they were firſt ſatiſfied whether they would continue to trade with Holland or not ; his lordſhip prayed to underſtand from the ſaid commiſſioners , whether they held that point to be ſo eſſential as that the peace could not be proceeded on without receiving, firſt, a reſolution therein, or otherwiſe to be accidental, that neceſſarily required to have a propoſition made for it.

The ſenator of Milan answered, that he muſt ſtill inſiſt upon the difference that was to be made of rebels , in regard of whom the ſaid trade might be conſidered to be eſſential, or accidental, according to the greatneſs or ſmallneſs thereof.

The lord Cecil answered that during the time the king's majeſty was only king of Scotland , he being in firm league and amity with the princes their maſters , did nevertheless , uſe a continual courſe of trade with thoſe of Holland , as in the like manner France and Denmark and all other ſtates had ever uſed, and that there was no reaſon he ſhould do himſelf the wrong to undergo now

a worse condition therein, than heretofore he had done and others now did.

The senator of Milan now answered that we were to live by laws, and not by examples.

That it was true they were in peace with Scotland, when nevertheless Scotland used to trade with the Hollanders, and though they had reason to except against the same, yet because they held not the same trade to be great, they thought not fit to break their peace thereupon, which would have been of great inconvenience to them, that now it was not only a far greater trade by the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, but also the making of a new peace, wherein it was requisite to provide a remedy against inconveniences of the times past.

The earl of Northampton answered to the several parts of the senator's speech; that though we were to be governed by laws and not by examples, yet that examples were the means of interpreting the laws; that the king of Scotland did bring with his own person the privileges which he formerly enjoyed, and that good or evil was not to be measured by proportions, but to be esteemed by the justice or injustice thereof.

The senator of Milan alledged that it could not be denied but that trade was an assistance, and thereby repugnant to the treaties of amity, and in that respect the use thereof unlawful.

The earl of Northampton answered him, that if it were not heretofore unjust for the king to use that liberty being king of Scotland, then that there

was no reason to except more against it now, that the king's majesty takes no other course therein than was used by the king of Spain himself, who was content to admit and entertain a trade with those which he called his rebellious subjects, which, as it might be alledged to be done chiefly for his own utility, and not for any respect done to them, so his majesty did profess only to regard therein only his own necessary interest.

The lord Cecil added further that it was good to let them plainly know that the trade with those provinces was of so great importance to us, that we could by no means spare the same; and moreover, that the king was no less tied by the weight of other considerations, not to renounce, the holding of further correspondence with them, in due care not to lose the great debt which they owed him, and the possession of the towns which he held among them, and therewith also not to make themselves desperate, to betake themselves unto other protection, which might be more dangerous both for Spain and England, and therefore, he told the said commissioners, that they were not to expect to receive satisfaction upon that point.

The said commissioners answered, that they had respective meaning not to seek to restrain our trade to our prejudice; but only to bar their rebels from partaking also by our means, of the fruit of our trade with their princes, for the prevention whereof that it was fit to advise how to limit our trade in due sort, and they prayed their lordships to propound some reasonable means for the same.

The lord Cecil desired the said commissioners, that they would rather explain unto their lordships their desire therein; but because the time grew late, it was agreed to respite the further handling of that point unto their next meeting, and so they took leave of each other for that time.

Thursday the 31st, their lordships repaired again unto the said commissioners, and first excused unto them their long absence, by the occasion of other important business, and then desired to proceed in the determining of the business last in communication between them, and to receive the said commissioners answers therein.

The senator of Milan answered, that the last speech was concerning matter of trade, wherein they were willing to conserve our former liberties unto us, so as their rebels might not be benefited by the use thereof, and therefore they desired their lordships to propose the means of a middle remedy unto them.

The lord Cecil said, that their lordships being persons of honor did not desire to *merchand* the point with them; but thought fit to let them know that there was no possibility of yielding to restrain the trade of his majesty's subjects into Holland, and likewise of the Hollanders trade unto his majesty's dominions, which he did not entertain for their sakes, but only for our own good; and, considering that all other princes take their liberty, that there was no reason to restrain the subject of his majesty; who, for the considerations which had been before expressed, was much more interested

to maintain the same: and therefore he wished that there might be no further argument upon that article, but to pass over upon some other.

The president Richardot alledged, that their last treaty made with France, was strong in general terms, to restrain the French from ministering such help and assistance to their rebels as the use of trade did import, and like assurance had been since given for the revoking of their ambassador out of those ports; but howsoever that the same had not been observed, it ought to justify the wrong that they had received therein.

That their intent was to be careful of our lawful interest, and they desired us to have the like consideration of theirs, and therefore prayed that their lordships would propose some reasonable way of remedy therein.

The lord Cecil answered him, that it was yet unknown unto us, what benefit we should receive by the trade of Spain, but that we were assured that the trade of the Low Countries, was of greatest importance unto us; notwithstanding, to show that their lordships were most willing to accommodate themselves to reason, that their lordships would assent to prohibit the carriage of all materials of war to those of the United Provinces, upon pain of confiscation of the same commodities.

The senator of Milan desired their lordships to explain themselves, whether their lordships understood thereby, that it should be also lawful for the subjects of England to carry the commodities of Spain into the Low Countries, and so likewise of the Low Countries into Spain, because their

meaning was not to allow that favor unto the Hollanders, howsoever they might otherwise agree to approve our trade with them; neither also that it should be lawful for us to trade in their ships, and in any sort to color the said Hollanders goods.

The lord Cecil said, that he found their reasons to be very allowable, in that they sought to impeach their enemy's good, and he hoped likewise, that they would acknowledge it to be as reasonable that we ought to seek to receive benefit by the peace, or otherwise, that it would be better for us to remain still in war, in respect of the fortunate purchases which we had made at the sea. But because it was fit that their lordships should receive informations from the merchants concerning this point, before they did further determine thereof, he desired that they would proceed to some other matter and leave that question to some other time, which was assented unto; the point of intercourse with Holland and Zealand being admitted in general, and the question referred to further considerations, whether we ought to be restrained to vent the commodities of Holland and Zealand into Spain, and so likewise of Spain into the said Provinces: and it was desired by the said commissioners, because they had already made two propositions of their part, that their lordships would now express themselves concerning their demands.

The lord Cecil said, that their lordships would be willing to give them satisfaction therein; and therefore, first, that he would begin with the complaint of the great wrong and grievous vexations,

which were committed upon our merchants trading into Spain by the authority of the inquisition there, whereof he desired that they might from henceforth be discharged and cleared, and a free liberty of trade to be granted to his majesty's subjects in all the dominions of the king of Spain and the archduke.

The senator of Milan answered, that they were to yield to any thing which was in the power of their commission in the favor of the trade of his majesty's subjects, but under that generality, that they could not promise other matters for the which they had no authority, namely, that they would promise and undertake for a liberty of trade to be granted in the king of Spain's dominions of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and so likewise in the territories of the archduke; and concerning the inquisition, he alledged that it was to be held for a general ground, that the inquisition took no notice of any fault, but where there was a public scandal given, the which order the king would be careful to recommend to have duly observed according to that rule, and if they might receive informations from our merchants of the particulars of the grievances whereof they complained, that they would endeavour to procure them redress thereof.

The lord Cecil made answer, that their lordships would be glad to receive better satisfaction from them to the two points proposed by their lordships, because their lordships did conceive that there should have been a general admittance and permission of trade into all the dominions of the

king of Spain ; by nominating of some countries and omitting of others, it seemed that there was a meaning to use a restriction therein, which did not answer to the condition of a general and reciprocal free trade , which ought to be granted between the princes: for the other point concerning the inquisition, that his majesty was not willing to exempt his subjects from punishment for any offences which they should commit by public scandal given by them , but there was no reason that they should be otherwise subject to the passionate censure of the inquisition, to be so strongly dealt with by them as ordinarily they had been, where the like severity was not practised in any part of Italy, nor in the proper dominions there of the king of Spain, where it was conceived that he had as great a power to exercise the authority of the inquisition; and therefore, if order were not taken therein, that his majesty should be forced to make the subjects of the king of Spain to undergo the like severity here.

The senator of Milan answered , that for the matter of trade, they did not design for the better demonstration of the freedom of the intercourse in the king and archduke's dominions; but that now he would more particularly explain himself, that our subjects should have trade in any place of the king's dominions where he admitted any other prince to have intercourse with him; and for the matter of the inquisition, that the king of Spain had as great authority to exercise the form of that law in his dominions in Italy, as in Spain, but

that it could not be dropped; that some judges might want discretion in their proceedings, for that princes might make judges, but could not give them discretion.

The lord Cecil said, that concerning the answer made for the granting of such a liberty of trade unto his majesty's subjects as was allowed unto other princes, they were not acquainted with the interest of other princes, of whom some had more private considerations than others; but for us, which were of another constitution, that it was no way fit for us to be restrained in our trade, and that we expected liberty granted us, to trade to the Indies, and desired to know whether any just reason could be alledged for excluding us from them.

The senator of Milan confessed, that their meaning was to restrain us from the trade of the Indies, which could not be imputed to be a wrong unto us, because it was never before granted us in any former treaties, never hitherto permitted by the king of Spain to any of his own subjects, or nearest kindred, or so much as to any of his children, therefore he prayed to be excused, for that it was not in their power to give their lordships satisfaction in that matter.

The lord Cecil answered, that the king was resolved to maintain all things which were necessarily belonging to a lawful trade, and he hoped they would not urge unreasonable restrictions upon him which had no example; that he desired trade with all the world, but so, as it might be also accompanied with liberty to distribute the said merchandize

merchandize afterwards into any ports to the best behoof of the merchants; that they were content that any goods which should be taken belonging to the Hollanders, should be subject to confiscation, whereof it should not appear by good proof, that they properly had been before changed, and the right of the same to be since in any of his majesty's subjects to transport goods in any of the Hollanders vessels upon the same penalties, but that other harder restrictions ought not to be imposed upon them. The earl of Northampton told the said commissioners further, that he did conceive them to be so reasonable, as they would not impose other laws upon us than themselves would willingly admit in a case of their own like interest, there being no reason to hinder to vend that to his best commodity in any other place, which he had adventured to fetch home to his great hazard; besides, that his majesty should receive a notable prejudice therein in the state of his customs, for that there arises a far greater benefit to him by the transportation of commodities out of the realm.

The senator answered, that they did not seek to impose laws upon us, but only to provide for their own security; that by our means the Hollanders might not enjoy those things which they did restrain from them; and considering that there might be found vent for the said commodities in other parts, as Poland, Denmark, Dantzick, &c. that ought not to be held unreasonable to be yielded unto.

The earl of Northampton answered, first, that the generality of the words expressed not in this

treaty only, but in those of former times, gave a more free scope and freedom of access to the ports and dominions of the kings of England and Spain, than a construction against the plainest purpose and sense of their words themselves ought to qualify, for it was true that *omnia intelliguntur permissa quæ non sunt expresse prohibita*, &c. (every thing is understood to be permitted, that is not expressly mentioned in the list of exceptions and prohibitions, &c.) That the treaties between Lewis the VII. and Maximilian, and between Henry the VIII. and the emperor Charles, at Cambray, Bruxelles, &c. did afford freedom of trade to Englishmen, with these words, *sicut proprii subditi, sicut in sua patria*, (as his own subjects, and as if in their own country &c.), And secondly, that though the king of Spain might moderate the desires of his own subjects, or of those princes in whom he had a greater interest for many special respects, yet might the king of Britain stand upon the same terms that the queen of England did with Don Aires the Portugal ambassador, pressing earnestly a prohibition of English merchants upon the same grounds and motives that their lordships do now, which were that in this case she could not condescend with honor, to the king of Portugal's request, lest his scope of trading universally in her dominions should be more absolute than her's in the dominions of Portugal thus limited; that if ports, which by the law of nations ought to be free to all men in respect of trade and use, though not of jurisdiction and property, might be shut up to any,

it was to be either for hostility as the Civilians demonstrate, or in respect of infidelity; but that in the first degree, the king of Britain's subjects could not be ranked in respect of league; nor in the second, because the differences there are in religion between the princes reached not so far; but by the judgment of Hostiensis, a learned canonist, it was required that there should be either *falsorum & plurium deorum, aut utriusque testamenti rejectio*; (a belie for worship of false, or a plurality of gods; or an abjuration of both Old and New Testament); therefore, against us the Spaniards ought neither to shut up their ports nor their harbours; that the last will of a Christian made in the *ports* of a Pagan prince was sufficient in law; because these were holden *juris publici & jure gentium ad usum communem tendere*, (to belong to the great republic of the world, and by the law of nations to be subservient to the common good of all.) Whereas, all testaments that are made within the *dominions* of a Pagan prince were by law reversible: that therefore, it was holden by the Civilians, that in case a man would lay the charge out of his own purse of making or unbarring a haven, which is the greatest merit that industry can perform, *etiamsi edificia sunt edificantium tamen ipse portus debet esse communis*, (although all structures are the property of those who raise them, ports themselves ought to be common.) And that so far were the Civilians from barring princes out of ports, as that they seem rather to be *portuum vindices*, (the assertors of the freedom of

ports), in purging the seas from piracy, and that their ports were a protection in *omnibus maribus*, (in all seas); besides, that if any body may bar us from trading into those parts, the right of that exclusion belonged properly to those Indian princes themselves, to whom the seas did belong, as the Civilians averred, in property and jurisdiction, that confine upon their state, and which did possess those places wherewith he desired to trade, for that the Portuguese did not possess the 20th part of that which is open; 1000 leagues, lying sometimes between one part possessed by them and another, and they paying to those Indians pier-custom and tribute for their freight, &c. That those princes were so far from barring and excluding, as they did rather allow all the world to trade, and if they did not, that the worst part must be ours in adventuring so far without sound warranty; and these arguments were further added by him; first, that in universal societies there ought to be an equality, and therefore a reciprocal, free intercourse was to be admitted by the law of society.

Secondly, that a contract, to be gainful to the one part without commodity to the other, was *leonina societas*, (a society of lions). Thirdly, that our kingdom consisted more of navigation than others did, and therefore, that their answer for having denied it to other countries was nothing pertinent to us.

Fourthly, that our people was a warlike nation, and having been accustomed to make purchases on

the seas, could not better be reduced than allowing them a free liberty of trade.

The which he enlarged with this further amplification, that the other princes forbearing this trade was no lawful bar to the king of Britain; because it was rather for want of means than liberty in them; but the providence of God having fitted this state more for trade than any other, in the making of ships, the situation of the monarchy, the capacity of ports, the disposition of men, the strength of their constitution, and the convenience of all ordinary means, would tax us in a manner both with sloth and idleness, in case we should forbear to make our advantage by that means which nature offered; wherefore since we could not, without error and absurdity suffer those wooden walls, as Apollo gracefully termed them, which are the ramparts of Brittany to rot for want of use, there was great reason that the king of Spain drawing them from employments of hostility, should leave them to the general and ordinary course of trade, whereby they might be maintained, the subjects enriched, and the state fortified.

The senator of Milan answered, that though ordinary societies by leave should be equal, yet that they might be limited by conversions, and that the same ought not to be found strange in this case, because the said Indies were a new world; and touching argument of inequality of condition, that it could not be so reputed, because the subjects of England should have the liberty of commerce of thirteen kingdoms belonging to him, for

the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and therefore, that it could not be said to be *Leonina societas*; that the king of Spain had ever denied the liberty of that trade to all his own subjects of what country soever, though depending as much upon navigation as we did: lastly, whereas it was argued that the liberty of the said trade would contain our people in better terms, that there was no reason that our men which had before benefited themselves by the spoils unjustly, should now have for recompence a trade which had been denied to all others, even to the king of Spain's own kindred and brethren.

The lord Cecil said, that he found, by the former speech of the said commissioners, that they were not authorized to give any further satisfaction touching this point, and therefore, that he thought it fit to refer the resolution thereof to the coming of the Constable of Castile, to whom he hoped it would appear that he had not so much reason to deny the liberty of that trade as his majesty had to insist upon it.

The commissioners answered, that the constable was no more authorized to give satisfaction therein than they were, being a matter which they did not expect would ever have come in question, and so their lordships conference ended with them at that time.

Friday the 1st of June, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and the lord Cecil declared unto them, that their lordships held it to be the best course to the end, to bring the treaty

to a more speedy and orderly conclusion, to take the view and form of other precedent treaties, and to select out of the same such rules as were necessary for the present time; that it was agreed of the form of the amity, and that the princes should not minister occasion of offence to each other, and that since there had been question of moderating our trade, which they termed to be an assistance to those of Holland, that their lordships since last being with them, had due consideration of the matter, and did protest not to be willing to insist upon any liberty to pleasure the Hollanders for the bettering of their condition, but because if they should admit the restrictions which had been proposed by the said commissioners or merchants, they should be bound to undergo infinite inconveniences and vexations by the perils which the same would draw upon them, for that it was impossible so clearly to distinguish of the sort of merchandise according to the several places of their making, but that it would breed a confusion of questions, and difference and endless troubles and molestation to the merchants; and therefore, that there was no reason to make any goods of Holland subject to confiscation, after such time as the property of them should be changed.

The president Richardot answered, that it was not so hard a matter as it was conceived, to discern and distinguish of the places where any commodities were made, as well by the fashion itself of making, as also by the applying of some seal and mark, the which considered, that there was no

reason but that they should confiscate the merchandise of Holland from what place soever the same should be brought.

The lord Cecil told him, that contrariwise, it would be insupportable to our merchants, which would grow thereby, and we were moreover to have respect to the prejudice which we should otherwise receive by that means in our trade with France, who finding that we had covenanted not to vent the commodities which they might tender unto us, though being of foreign growth, would also hereupon interdict the receiving of our commodities into that country; therefore he wished it might be forborn to dispute further of that matter for the present, and to pursue his first motion to make a selection of articles out of former treaties.

The senator of Milan answered, that they had some other special demands first to make, whereunto they desired to receive answer, namely, that they desired to be restored to the towns which were held belonging to them in the Low Countries.

The lord Cecil told them, that the king's majesty did not pretend any interest of right to the said towns, and wished it were lawful for him to restore them to the true proprietary, but that he held them as pawns for good sums of money owing to this crown, and that there were no reason he should dispossess himself of them till he were satisfied of the said debt.

The senator of Milan answered, that we received the said towns from those that had no right to pledge them.

The lord Cecil said, that the king should be much wronged to deliver them to others than from whom he received them; and if they would consider it well, that it would be safer for them that the said towns should be continued in his majesty's hands, than be restored to the states.

The senator of Milan proposed it as a doubt how, if he would not restore the said towns presently, it might stand with the continuance of the peace? For their desiring to reduce the islands to their obedience, might lead them first, for their better entrance, to begin with the towns.

The earl of Northampton told him, that the deceased queen possessed herself of the said towns by the like justice as the king of Spain took towns in France, and did ally herself with Holland and Zealand by the same right, as he did with the house of Guise, so as it ought no more to be disputed with us than it was in their case, whether they took the towns and possessed them from *vero domino* (the right owner), or not, whereof mention had been made by them.

But their lordships observed, that the great difference was to be made between the right of restoring of towns conquered, and such as were delivered for the satisfying of conditions of pledge and assurance.

The lord treasurer added further, that great difference was to be made between the bounds and contracts of private men, and those of princes; that in the one the strict rules of private law, as was expressed, might have place; but in the

second there was not only respect to be had of the laws, but also of public utility and princely honor, and of the equity that ought to be between great states: wherefore, in as much as the deceased queen of England did, as a public princess, enter into contract for the said towns, that the king's majesty was now still to hold them, and might not in honor deliver them; besides, that it was for the good of the archduke that they should rather fall into our hands than into worse.

The senator answered, that the ignorance of the law to whom the said towns belonged, ought not to be available to him that should have informed himself by better knowledge, as well concerning the right of private interests as of public; but if it should be admitted to yield profit to him for the time, it ought to be only for the benefit of the mere fruits, and not for the detaining of the thing itself; and whereas it was alledged, that it was happy for the archduke that the said towns fell into so good hands, that it would now appear by the restoring of the said towns; or otherwise, that we only respected our own interest, and nothing the good of the archdukes.

The president Richardot answered, and pursued the same argument; only adding, that the king's right for his money might be sufficiently preserved against the parties that engaged the towns, and that they would assist us therein: that it would be dishonorable for their princes to make a peace, and to leave the said towns in our hands, and that they desired to know whether, if they should

attempt the recovery of those towns, it should be taken as a breach of the peace.

The lord Cecil told them, they had reason to seek to fortify their demands, but that their lordships had more reason to maintain their denial if their lordships should be forced to prosecute the further reasons which had been delivered unto them of state and honor, and plainly they were to understand, that it was a thing that the king would not do; that they ought to content themselves with the making of a firm peace with us, without casting us thereby into greater inconveniences than we were before subject unto by the war with them, that if they had purpose to attempt any thing against those islands, they should not be therein impeached by us, but only we would look to the guard of our towns.

The earl of Northampton pursued a speech to the same effect.

The senator of Milan answered, that they know no difference between the right of a private man and of a prince, but that a prince could not be compelled to make restitution; and whereas it was said that these things could not be determined by the streams of law, that they required the said towns by the law of nations, which did yield to every man his right: but because it was alledged that the king should violate his oath and honor, in case he should assent to the present restoring of those towns, they confessed it was *regia potestatis*, (a matter of sovereign power,) and therefore, that they would not further insist upon that demand:

but they desired to be answered to their former proposition, whether in case they should be forced to the reduction of the towns, it would be held a breach of the peace, which they desired to have continue inviolable, and desired some provision to be made for it.

The lord Cecil said, that their lordships were willing to concur with them to assent to any thing that might be reasonable for the reconciling of this difficulty, but that it was fit to proceed in the matter with great moderation, lest it might otherwise give interruption to the peace, and if they already advised of any unreasonable proposition to be made of their lordships, they would be glad to understand the same, or otherwise, that it might be considered of against the time of their next meeting, which was approved by the said commissioners.

The earl of Northampton told them, that he would briefly remember unto them before their departure two considerable things: first, that their lordships had yielded unto them in all considerable matters, and given them no interruption; and secondly, how unwilling their lordships were, by way of argument, to receive the remembrance of the old differences, whereby they could sufficiently answer the point of the present propositions.

Tuesday the 5th of June, their lordships repaired again to the commissioners, and the lord Cecil declared unto them, that their important business which hindered them from coming sooner to them, forced them still to begin with excuses for their

long absence; that they had acquainted his majesty with the point that remained last in difference between them; and that they were commanded by his majesty to make them that answer to the same, whereof he desired they would make good interpretation; that he was willing to give their princes all good assurance and satisfaction of his design to entertain firm amity with them, but that he had reason chiefly to look to proceed in the making of the peace with the safe-guard of his honor, which he held in no less recommendation than his life, namely, concerning the cautionary towns, which he was resolved not to deliver over unto them for the reasons which had been before declared unto them, and that his majesty did find exceeding strange, that they should seek to exact more of him in that behalf, than they had done of their base and barbarous mutinied soldiers, with whom they had lately compounded, and had been contented that they should deliver back unto the State's hands the town of Grave, which they had received from them; but if they thought that there could be no peace made with his majesty, if he continued to hold the said towns, he would be willing, so as they would find the means, how he might be reimbursed his money, to deliver them back into the States hands according as by contract he was bound; that thereupon their princes might afterwards take such course as they should think fit for the recovery of them.

The senator of Milan answered, that the propositions made for not restoring the towns were the

reasons of honor and utility: honor, for being otherwise engaged by contract to them from whom we received them; and of utility, in respect of your debt; that they did not desire to wrong the king in his honor, but because the holding of the said towns by the king, would be an impediment to the observing of the peace; therefore, that they would be glad that some reasonable means might be proposed how the one might be preserved with the other, which they thought might well be by suffering the king to keep the said towns in his hands some three or four years: in the which time it were to be hoped that the Hollanders might be reduced to obedience either by his majesty's mediation, whereof they had good hope, or otherwise, by the good work of God; and if they were so, all difficulties would be removed, and order might be taken for satisfying of the king's debt; but if they should still remain in disobedience, then there would be no cause why the king should longer respect his promise to the Hollanders, finding them to continue so obstinate, and he was desirous that by this contract now to be made, the king would promise them to restore the said towns unto their princes.

The lord Cecil said, that knowing the king's heart to be so full of integrity as they did, their lordships should much fail of their duty, if they should not return an answer worthy of their proposition; if there was not a third person interested in this case, the difficulty for the restitution of the towns might much more easily be cleared; but it

was apparent to every man's reason, that a thing deposited could not be delivered over in the prejudice of a third person, and a thing simply deposited could not afterwards be restored upon conditions; that the covenant now to restore the towns at a limited time hereafter, imported as much as the present restoring of them; that it were better therefore to advise of some other means; and that the king's majesty, to witness that he would be willing to give the said princes all the satisfaction that he might, would use all good endeavours to draw the Hollanders to a peace; and because, as their necessity should increase after having lost the favor of his majesty's protection, they would be then the most conformable to reimburse the king's debt: that whensoever they might be drawn to submit themselves, the king would make it appear that he likewise for his part would not stand, upon any reasonable matter of money, for the restoring also of the said towns, to bring the war to an end.

The president Richardot asked, whether it was not intended to yield to any limitation of time for the restoring of the said towns, but to refer it to the uncertain reducing of the States, and so to continue to a time infinite.

The lord Cecil answered him, that there was no reason to expose the king's majesty to the discredit of a dishonorable treaty for yielding to a limited time, seeing they were assured to reduce the said Hollanders within a short time after they should want the benefit of his Majesty's assistance. The

earl of Northampton added further, that if the like reason of equity, after five years, should remain as now, for the not delivery of the said towns, why should they more urge the delivery to be then made than now? that it could not be denied that the Hollanders should be less able to withstand and to resist the archduke, being separated from us, than now; and therefore it was to be judged they would be reduced: but if contrariwise, by despair, that people should be forced to seek other protection, it were to be considered whether it were not better for the princes, that the king's majesty should join with them for the defence of his pledges, than to leave them to desperate men without having his interest in them. Hereunto the senator of Milan replied, that though the said arguments had been in part before, and might be again sufficiently answered; yet that they would not insist upon further disputation, but rather desired to bring the point to a conclusion; and therefore, because it was alledged that it would touch the king no less in honor presently to covenant for the restoring of the towns at a certain time hereafter, than it would be to do it presently; and seeing on the other side, it would be dishonorable for their princes that there should a peace be made without providing for this point in some sort, they offered to their lordships consideration the framing of the said promise in this or like manner: that if within some certain time to be limited, those of Holland, &c. should not conform themselves at the king's solicitation, that then the king would

would be left to his liberty to dispose of the towns, according as should be agreeable to justice and good amity.

The lord Cecil told them, that it was fit their lordships should acquaint the king with the said overture, before they gave them a conclusive answer thereunto, in respect that the king had been something distasted with the motion that was formerly made, and so their conference ended for that time.

Thursday the 7th of June, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners; and the lord Cecil declared unto them, that their lordships had at large acquainted the king with the arguments which were particularly handled by them of both sides, touching the point of the rendering of the towns: and the king's majesty took in so good part the moderation which they had used in being careful to temper the matter, that his honor might not be wronged, as he protested to be in trouble between the care how to show himself thankful to their masters for the due respect therein had of him and of the other side not to do a thing which might be dishonorable to him upon consideration of precedent contract made between the deceased queen and the United Provinces, which he was bound to observe: he did find that he stood so strictly engaged in honor towards the States, that he could not yet (as they do now stand) enter into a covenant for the delivery of the said towns to their masters; but that he conceived the best expedient would be, that he should enter into a

new communication with the States, and to profess unto them, that if they should not either take order for the payment of their debt by a certain time, or else conform themselves to the obedience of their princes, that then the king's majesty would be at liberty to take such course with the said towns as should be agreeable with honor and justice; which assurance of the king's good inclination toward them in this course might well content them without urging the king to a more expressed promise.

The senator of Milan answered, that they never doubted of the king's affection for the good amity towards their princes; and therefore, that they held themselves bound to be the more careful to use their best endeavours for the tempering and accommodating of the point in question, so as the honor of both princes might be preserved; which they, by way of discourse, and not otherwise conceived, might be, by the assigning of a time convenient unto the Hollanders, wherein they should conform themselves, or else the towns to be restored to their princes; but that now it was added further, that if the States would pay the money in the mean season, that then they should receive the towns again, which could not be contracted by them, without prejudice to their princes honor; and therefore, he referred himself to the president Richardot, to declare the interest of the archdukes upon that point; who signified, that it could not stand with the honor of their master to make any such contract.

The lord Cecil told them, that all that hitherto had been spoken, was by way of discourse, to the end, to seek to reconcile this question, that as they were not to admit any mention to be made of restoring the towns to the States, because they conceived they should thereby approve either the States possessing of the said towns, or their fact to be lawful, so the king his master would be as loath to covenant any thing which might prejudice or discredit his own contracts with the States, in that he had accepted the said towns; therefore, as before had been declared, that the king did hold it to be the best course to summon the States to enter into a new conference and contract with him, whereby he might provide, that if they should not conform themselves within a convenient time, that he would be at liberty to take such course with the said towns as should be agreeable with honor and justice: and other promise than this, that he could not for the present make, till he had freed himself of the contracts with the States which did now stand in force.

The president Richardot desired, in the name of all the said commissioners, that they might have some time given them to consider of the said proposition; and withal that some form of an article might be conceived for that purpose, to be delivered unto them, which was allowed of, and agreed to pass over to clear the point of the trade, which had been formerly handled.

Concerning the said matter of trade, the lord Cecil told them, that their lordships having had

conference with the merchants thereof, they did all protest, that the restriction that was sought to be imposed upon them for not transporting the commodities of Holland and Zealand into Spain, would be of so great vexation and trouble unto them in their trade, as would be to their ruin, if they should be forced to undergo the inconvenience thereof; and therefore his lordship desired the said commissioners not further to urge the said condition, and the rather, considering that the benefit thereof would nothing be so great unto them as the prejudice would be great unto us: that we were content to give them satisfaction to yield, that our men should not make use of the Hollanders ships or mariners, whereby they would be exceedingly distressed.

The president Richardot answered, that the trouble would not be so great as was pretended; and that our merchants might be furnished of the same commodities out of the archdukes provinces, which they fetched out of Holland and Zealand, which might well be distinguished by a seal from those of Holland.

The lord Cecil told them, that our trade could not be soon settled in their provinces; and that the States would moreover give impeachment to our trading with them, as they did to all other princes and states of the world, pretending that they could not admit of any trading with the archdukes without their manifest ruin; and that we did expect to receive their protestation upon that point.

It was said by the commissioners, that the States

would not dare to impeach our trade, if we would take the courses which we might do, to be sensible thereof; but it was told them, that it could not be done without plunging ourselves into a new war; and it was desired by their lordships to leave this question of trading with them, to be handled in its proper place and course, and to clear the other point first spoken, touching the transporting of Spanish wares of those princes into Spain, concerning the which the lord Cecil signified unto them that, if it would please them to be satisfied in the effect of that which they desired, he would propose an offer unto them how it might be done, and our merchants freed from molestation, which should be, that the king's majesty should prohibit the transporting of the commodities of Holland and Zealand into Spain; and so likewise of Spain into those provinces, by any of his majesty's subjects, upon pain of confiscation of the same commodities, and of incurring further punishment; and, for the better observation thereof, that some seal should be appointed to design the commodities carried out of England. The said commissioners desired to take time to consider of the said proposition, and so brake off their conference for that time.

Friday the 8th of June, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners; and it was moved by the lord Cecil, to know their resolution touching the point which had been last handled.

It was answered by the said commissioners, that they were content to agree to the passing of our

commodities into Spain, upon strait order and prohibition to be made by the king's majesty, according as was offered, that none of the commodities of Holland and Zealand, should likewise be under that color transported by his majesty's subjects into Spain, upon confiscation thereof; and for the better avoiding of fraud in that behalf, that the merchandizes of England which might be subject to question, being of the same kind and making as those of Holland, should be distinguished by the marks and seals of the towns where they were made, and having that testimony, that they should not be subject to visitation, for the merchandize which should be marked, but there have their allowance.

It was then moved by the lord Cecil, to know what provision they would require for the merchandizes which should be brought out of Spain, for not transporting the same into Holland and Zealand.

The senator of Milan said, that we might be discharged of giving any caution in paying the impost of thirty upon the hundred; but it was answered by the lord Cecil, that we did not now only expect to have the impost abolished against us, but also to be restored to our former privileges and liberty of trade with them.

The senator of Milan declared, that their care was to give their lordship satisfaction, by all means to make it appear what affection they did bear unto the peace: and therefore, although there were an order established for payment of thirty

upon the hundred, for all goods issuing out of Spain, unless the same should be carried unto the archdukes provinces, that the said imposts should be remitted for such merchandizes as should be brought into England only.

The lord Cecil answered, that though we must interpret every thing for a courtesy from them, wherein they would show to make a difference between us and others, yet that we found it would be a hard condition unto us, to be restrained not only from carrying the commodities of Spain into Holland, but also into France: which haply might be an occasion also to impeach the liberty of our trade with France in respect of our admitting a condition of such prejudice unto them. But notwithstanding that their lordships were contented not to dispute the reasons of their interest, and would admit the said condition, upon protestation that the restraint for the transporting of Spanish commodities into France should not stand longer than till the present differences which were between France and their princes for matter of trade might be compounded, wherein that the king's majesty would be glad to do some good office between them, to take away those interruptions which might grow thereby to the state of the common trade of their subjects, that it followed to be the next question, what caution should be given for the observance of the foresaid restraint for such commodities as should be brought out of Spain.

It was answered by the senator of Milan, that

they required the caution which was provided by their placard for the giving of assurance in Spain for the payment of the impost of thirty upon the hundred, if a certificate should not be afterwards brought of the landing of the said goods in England, and not for carrying the same to the prohibited places.

The lord Cecil told them, that there was no meaning to yield to give such assurance, in respect of the inconveniences and vexations which the same would draw upon our merchants; besides, that it was dishonorable for the king to yield unto it, that he was content to make strict prohibitions to the contrary upon pain of incurring severe penalties, and if any further caution were to be given, that it were rather necessarily to be taken here in England; that in such cases, where a provision could not be conveniently made without occasion of greater inconveniences otherwise, there ought to be reposed a trust in the honor and word of the prince, and upon complaint that should be made by the ambassador of Spain residing here of any contrary actions in that point, that there should be redress thereof.

It was earnestly pressed by them to have some better provision; but in the end, after much debating, it was agreed to put off this question till some other time without resolution of either part.

It was afterwards propounded by the senator of Milan, to clear the point also touching the imposts which our merchandize should pay, which were to be carried out of England into Spain, because the

impost of thirty upon the hundred did stand still in force against us.

The lord Cecil told him, that we undertook to bring the trade to the same state of payment of both sides, as it was before the breaking out of the last troubles.

The commissioners answered, that their princes were content to remit unto us the impost of thirty upon the hundred, and that our merchants should not be subject to pay any other dues than were established by the time of the publishing of the last placard of thirty upon the hundred; and that they did not hold themselves to be authorized to look further backward for the taking away of any impost, than till the said time; so that there was no reason that we should seek to exempt ourselves from those impositions which were before established, and which are generally payed by the subjects of all other princes and other states whatsoever, and even by their own subjects; but if there hath been any thing particularly imposed more upon our nation than upon others, then, that we had to seek the abolishing thereof, and not otherwise.

It was answered by their lordships, that if the said commissioners were not authorized, as was alledged by them, to yield to any moderation of the imposts for longer time than till the setting out of the last placard, there was no reason for the present, to speak further thereof; and touching the other point, that we ought in reason, to submit ourselves to the same general payments as all others did.

That the same was no good argument to be used to us, to whom there ought to be a more particular respect, in regard that we ever had in ancient times a more strict alliance and amity with them than other nations had, which was an occasion to move princes in favor of such an extraordinary friendship, to grant more special privileges and immunities to some nations than might be challenged by others, that could not pretend the like consideration, as it might be exemplified by the ancient convention made between France and Scotland, wherein the Scottish then had more beneficial privileges granted unto them than any other nation; that in our treaties with Burgundy, it had been provided to set down our particular privileges, and care had been taken to use us always with the same respect of favor in Spain, where our friendship had been the same; and therefore, that their lordships found it strange that they would not make the treaty to have reference to the former time of amity, rather than to the latter more confused and troubled time wherein the interruption grew.

The said commissioners protested, that they knew not, for their parts, what other impositions had been established since the time of the last troubles, besides the impost of thirty upon the hundred; and therefore, that it was to no purpose to argue longer upon an uncertainty, which could not be determined without better information of that point: whereupon it was thought fit to break off their conference for that time.

On Wednesday the 11th of June their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and it was signified unto them by the lord Cecil, that their lordships expected to hear from them what other propositions they would make, of their part, to proceed to the conclusion of the treaty.

Whereupon it was answered by the senator of Milan, that it was best, before they entered into any new matter, first, to recapitulate and clear the points which had been before discussed and agreed on for matters of trade, namely, touching the goods of Holland and Zealand into Spain, and so likewise of the merchandizes, &c. we should carry out of England, or the archdukes provinces into Spain, and so likewise out of Spain into England or the archdukes provinces only; that they should be exempted from payment of the impost of thirty upon the hundred, and the provision to be accepted which was offered; and the king's majesty should restrain the transportation of the commodities of Holland and Zealand into Spain, on pain of confiscation, and further in testimony that the said merchandize should be known to the English, that the same should be marked and distinguished by the seals of the places where they were made; but for such merchandize as should be transported out of Spain, he enforced it to be necessary that our merchants should enter in bond to the value of thirty in the hundred, not to carry the same to other places than only to England or the archdukes provinces, and upon any confiscations grown for any thing done contrary to the foresaid order,

the king of Spain to be satisfied out of the same; the value of the said imposts of thirty in the hundred, and the rest due to be answered into his majesty's exchequer with the allowance of the half part thereof to the informer.

It was answered by their lordships, that in Spain there had been lately raised another impost of twelve in the hundred, upon wines and oils, which were shipped from thence, wherein his majesty's subjects did sustain the greatest grievance, for that they did most deal with the said commodities; and therefore, that his majesty's subjects should not receive any benefit by the trade of Spain, unless the said impost might also be taken away.

It was alledged by the commissioners, that the said impost of twelve in the hundred, did extend to all other nations, and even to their own subjects, and therefore, could not now be removed.

But it was answered by their lordships, that there was no reason to comprise us under that generality, to whom there belonged a more particular regard, for restoring us to the privileges and customs which had been anciently accorded between us and them.

The others insisted earnestly upon the maintaining the lawfulness of the said impost; so as for that time, nothing was concluded upon that point.

Afterwards there was speech of the caution which our merchants should give, which the said commissioners required, with sureties concerning the merchandize which they should bring out of Spain,

for the not venting of the same contrary to the placard, but it was utterly refused by their lordships to subject our merchants to so troublesome a caution; and their lordships only assented to the giving of simple caution to the value of the said impost.

On Wednesday the 13th of June, their lordships repaired again to the commissioners, and it was moved unto them by the lord Cecil, that it might be granted, to the end our merchants might receive comfort in the trade; to take away also the impost of twelve in the hundred, whereof speech had been before, as well as of the other of thirty. But it was answered by the commissioners, that the present state of their masters affairs could not permit the same to be done.

It was then demanded by the lord Cecil, that if they would not yield to the release thereof, how they would otherwise recompense it in some other thing, seeing in justice we ought to be exempted from the payment thereof, though their necessity would not permit it.

They said, that they had already gratified by the remittal of thirty in the hundred, and that they would in like manner submit themselves to the ordinary impositions of the state, and so it was forborn further to prosecute that point at the time.

Afterwards the lord Cecil prayed the said commissioners, to resolve their lordships, for the better clearing of the point of trade, whether their meaning was, to limit us to carry the commodities of Spain only into England, and other the king's

dominions, and the provinces under the obedience of the archdukes, and not to any other parts of Christendom, as France, Denmark, &c.

The said commissioners answered, that free liberty should be allowed unto us to bring any commodity of Spain, either for their own use, or to carry it into the archdukes provinces, without paying the imposition of thirty in the hundred, and to all other places, paying the said impost, &c.

Thereunto the lord Cecil answered him, that the king's majesty found, that if the placard should continue still in force, it would deprive his subjects of the benefit of a free trade, and generally interrupt the liberty of the commerce of all Christendom: therefore, that the king would be willing, to do a good office, to mediate an agreement between them and France, concerning the differences now depending between them for matter of trade, and the placards thereupon set forth, the one against the other, to the end there might be a convention of the said placards, whereof the trade might be restored to its former state.

The senator of Milan answered, that for the point of their placards which did directly concern his majesty's subjects, it was resolved to exempt them from the payment of the said impost; but for the other point which touched other princes, although it was a thing unexpected by them, that the interests of other princes should come in question, and be handled in this treaty, yet that they could not but thankfully accept the king's most gracious offer to be a means for the compounding

of the differences between their masters and others, and removing of the impediments grown about the said placard, wherein as they know their princes would more repose themselves upon confidence of the king's majesty's kindness and sincerity, than of any other prince's, so they would be willing to grow to any resolution upon the point of the placards, when the king should with due regard of the honor of their princes, work the effecting of his intention for the compounding the said differences.

The lord Cecil told them, that they might assure themselves the king's majesty would not deceive the trust of their princes in that behalf, and would be careful so to handle the matter as to propose it to the French ambassador, without any prejudice to the honor of Spain, and as it had been casually moved unto them, so that the ambassador should be dealt with in the like sort, and moved to procure commission to treat thereof, as it was desired, that he would do the like from the constable of Castile, to the end the matter might be presently proceeded in; in the mean season, that it would be best also to suspend the motions which had been made upon the point between their lordships, and the said commissioners.

The senator of Milan desired, that the other intended course might be no impediment to the determining (for the mean time) of the present question between them; but their lordships refused to give them any further answer till they were better instructed of his majesty's pleasure therein.

It was then demanded of them by the lord Cecil, whether they had any other proposition to make?

Whereunto was answered by the president Richardot, that they had a particular motion to make, in the name of the archduke, for restoring unto him of the ancient jewels of the dukes of Burgundy, which were engaged to the late queen by those which had no right to dispose of them; and in respect that the said jewels had ever been preserved and left in succession to the dukes of Burgundy, that they desired the recovery of them more in that respect than the value of them.

It was answered them by the lord Cecil, that the said jewels were engaged by most of the principal provinces of the Low Countries for good sums of money; therefore, that the king's majesty could not deliver the said jewels without their liking and agreement, and order to be taken for the reimbursement of his sum of money, for the which hereafter some better expedient might be found than could be now; and the archdukes might assure themselves, they should find the king's majesty very willing to use them with kindness therein, and his lordships signified unto them, that their lordships were also to make demand in behalf of the king's majesty for the reimbursement of other monies, which were lent by the deceased queen to those princes, for the appeasing of the troubles, at the time of the pacification of Ghent; which money the deceased king of Spain promised afterwards, by his letters, to pay interest of, it being for the use and benefit of his service.

The

The commissioners alledged, that the satisfying of that debt did not properly belong unto their princes; and the rather, for that there followed no observation of the pacification made at Ghent, and so for that time their conference ended.

On Monday the 18th of June, their lordships repaired to the commissioners, and it was signified to them by the lord Cecil, that their lordships, out of their desire to bring the treaty to an end, thought it fit to conceive and frame certain articles agreeable to the points which had been hitherto treated on; and because there had been something insisted on which had reference only to some considerations of the present time, with the which matters it were not fit to clog the other general and perpetual conventions of the treaty; therefore, that their lordships thought it best to make some provision for those temporary restrictions, by private articles to be passed between the princes.

Hereunto it was agreed to read the articles which were conceived on both sides, which was pursued till it came to the article in the which they designed in what countries of the king of Spain's dominions intercourse and traffic should be permitted to the king's majesty's subjects, and for that the naming of some parts of the dominions of Spain and excluding others showed that they had a meaning to exclude us from the trade of the Indies, it was desired by their lordships to agree that point concerning the Indies before they proceeded any further, and therewith it was declared unto them, that if they could show any ancient treaty wherein the

like restrictions had been used, then that their lordships would yield to reason therein; otherwise, that there was no cause but that the trade ought to be accorded unto us in the article in the said general terms as had been unto all others in former time.

It was answered by the senator of Milan, that they conceived the said article to be made according to their former conference with their lordships, seeing no mention was therein made of the Indies one way or other; nevertheless, if their lordships did dislike any thing in the form of the words thereof, that they would be content the same should receive alteration, so as there might be a provision that the trade of the Indies might not thereby be permitted.

The lord Cecil said, that to speak clearly unto them, as their lordships did conceive they would be unwilling to grant us the freedom of that trade, so they prayed them to understand that their lordships were not less resolved not to assent to be more restrained now from the liberty of using that trade, than we had been by former treaties.

The senator of Milan answered, that howsoever ancient treaties had been penned by neglect, yet that observation showed that the use of that trade had never been granted to us, and seeing the taking of that liberty by color of those words, might breed occasion of war again, it was convenient so plainly to express them at this time, as that all peril might be avoided, and nothing left that might give interruption to the peace.

The lordships answered, that it was not their meanir now to dispute the king of Spain's right to the idies, or whether he might lawfully restrain our traethither or not; but that the king's majesty would not so wrong his honor as to yield to be more strained in that freedom than France and other rovinces were by the conventions made with em.

Th senator of Milan answered, that France nevermade that question for the liberty of the trade or the Indies as we had done; but seeing that ie king's majesty would not admit a public article of restriction in such sort as they desired, becaie the same might be prejudicial to him in hono, that they would be content to pass the articl in the same general terms with us as they did with France, so as the king would promise by some private article that he would not approve his subjets trading thither; but if any should offend in th contrary, that he would both punish them himself for the same, and allow the king of Spain to do the like.

It was told by their lordships, that the king woud be satisfied with the general article which was passed with France, and that he could not othewise assent to any private article whereby to yield to exclude himself from the said trade, only he would be content not to mislike that the adventures into those parts should be left with the peril which they should incur thereby; or otherwise, that they would accord to forbid his subjects to trade unto any of the places which were now

possessed by the king of Spain in the Indies so as the said king would not give interruption to our trading to any other places which were not precisely under his obedience.

Then it was urged by them to declare by private writing, that he would leave the adventurers to their own perils, in such sort as had been before spoken of; but it was refused to engage thinking to make any such promise by writing.

Hereupon it was alledged by the said commissioners; that they having seriously advised how to reconcile the point of difference, they knew of no other means to do the same than to pass the article in general words, for the licensing our merchants to trade to all such places where formerly they had used to do.

Their lordships insisted still to have the article to pass in absolute general terms, without any manner of restrictions, and told them, that if they thought it fit, there might be protestations made thereupon of both sides: of their part, for not intending to allow us the trade of the Indies; and for our part, for our not assenting to be excluded from thence.

But the said commissioners refused to yield thereunto, alledging that they could not further enlarge themselves than as they had formerly declared, and protesting vehemently, that if the said matter should be stood upon, they should be forced, to their great grief, to break off the treaty, which they referred to the consideration of his majesty, whereupon their conference ended for that time.

Thursday the 21st of June, their lordships repaired to the said commissioners, and it was declared unto them by the lord Cecil, that their lordships did acknowledge, that the form of the proceeding of the said commissioners with them had been so good, and agreeable to honorable dealing, as their lordships wished that it were also in their power to take them some requital to their liking; therefore that their lordships would not seek, according to the custom of ministers in like cases, to value themselves by many diligences of reservedness, but would plainly let them know that day, what they would grant them next; for the which cause, though there was a breaking off the last time on the point then in question concerning the subsidies, so as thereupon occasion of scruple might arise which partly should ruin the conference; yet that their lordships were not willing to stand thereon; but to return to debate that argument with them to a further reconciliation, if it might be, for the concluding of the peace. And first, to make them answer by the king's commandment, to those things which had been the day before proposed to his majesty by the archduke's commissioners in their audience with his majesty, concerning the licensing of men to pass from hence to the service of the States, the which numbers he said had not been raised by any assistance of the king's authority, but only by the private gathering of a few voluntaries together; nevertheless, because the public passing of them at that time from the city gave scandal unto the said commis-

sioners, that order was taken by the king to restrain the transportation of any further numbers, at that time, from this place: but that the king must plainly let them know, that he could not deny his subjects the liberty to employ themselves in service abroad, in all places which were in amity with his majesty, to the end to preserve the peace and quietness of his state, which abounding of people, he could not restrain them from seeking to make their fortune by service abroad, and that the king would therein show no partial affection to the States, but would give the like free liberty to the archdukes to draw any numbers from hence, which they should require for their service; and withal, it was remembered unto them, that there was no reason to limit in that point more his majesty's subjects, than those of France and other countries, which did ordinarily go to the service of the States.

The senator of Milan protested, how great satisfaction they received by their lordships honorable proceeding with them, and prayed their lordships to conceive that they had no other meaning but only to refer the matter which was in difference to his majesty's consideration, and to be reconciled by his majesty's better wisdom and judgment; and he reinforced to the president Richardot, to make answer to the other parts of lord Cecil's speech, because he had dealt in the said matters with the king.

The said president acknowledged, that they had received good satisfaction from his majesty, by

the answer which he had made them of not having been acquainted with their levies of men which had been complained of by them, and by the promise which it pleased him to make, to take order therein; and touching the offer made to furnish their princes in the like sort, in any number which they should require for their service, they gave their lordships thanks, saying, that they would advertise their princes thereof; but desired that under that color there might not be liberty given to their enemies to draw men from hence, which would be directly against the peace; and for the proceedings of France, that we were not to take example by them, for that, howsoever they brake with them in that point, yet they being charged therewith, did not stand to the justification thereof, but alledged for their excuse, that they were but banished men that put themselves into that service; and moreover, that at the making of the peace, the French king did publicly prohibit that any of his subjects should afterwards serve there.

The lord Cecil said, that he found that the said, answer which was made by them, consisted of two points; first, of the inconvenience that might grow thereby to them, then of the answer made for France. For the first, although it could not but be in some sort inconvenient for them, that ourselves should retain within the realm, a superfluous number of idle and loose persons, which by that means were routed abroad, we were rather to respect the avoiding of a greater mischief thereby unto ourselves, than a less prejudice that might

grow to others: and touching that which had been said of France, that howsoever others would largely promise without respect of performance; yet, that the king's majesty had that just regard unto his honor and word, as he would promise nothing but that he would duly perform; and therefore, that he would freely profess beforehand what liberty was fit for him to take for the good of his state: besides, that there was great difference to be made between us and France, in respect of a nearer interest we had with the States for the towns which the king held in caution, and otherwise, which necessarily as yet required the holding on of a correspondence with them.

The earl of Northampton pursued a speech to the same effect, comparing the politic body of a commonwealth to the natural body of a man, wherein it was often necessary to purge superfluous and ill humors, which otherwise might endanger the health of the body; so also that if it were meant to spend abroad loose persons, as they grow to abound in a commonwealth, the retaining them could not be without danger of the safety of the same.

The commissioners answered, that there might be means for them to serve abroad in other places, though not in Holland and Zealand, to their prejudice, and that they had ever grounded themselves upon the king's promise, that there should be a restraint for going thither.

Whereunto their lordships shortly replied, that men were most willing to repair thither, where

there did occur most action and matter of employment, as at this time there was in the Low Countries; neither would they, as counsellors, advise his majesty otherwise to restrain his subjects; and so they brake off for that time, till his majesty's pleasure might be better known therein.

Wednesday the 27th their lordships repaired again to the commissioners, and the lord Cecil signified unto them, that their lordships had made the king acquainted with the matter which remained in difference between them, at the time of their last conference touching the restraining of voluntaries to repair to the service of the States, and how they urged a promise made in that behalf to some of them by the king; and also, for revocation of the number which were now there: whereunto the king's majesty did answer, that he was sorry to have been so misunderstood, but would be loath to enter into any question thereupon with an ambassador, for that he would not acknowledge that he had promised any such thing without doing himself great wrong; but if, out of the liberty of a free mind, and a good affection towards them, he had said in discourse, that if he should hereafter find the States to persist still in their obstinacy, that then he might be moved to press more straightly against them in such course as had been spoken of, there were no reason that any such discourse which was ever used by him with reference to the respective conditions of a peace, should be urged as a promise which would bind himself presently to satisfy.

The count of Aremberg desired that he might explain himself, that he did not charge the king to have made any such direct promise, but only to have used speech to him, whereby he thought to have reason to conceive hope of such an affection in the king towards the archdukes. And the president Richardot, prayed their lordships to consider, that if that article were not accorded, it would be directly to cross the purpose of a peace, and contrary to all former treaties; and thereupon he produced precedents of former treaties which were all made with strict cautions respecting that point.

The lord Cecil answered, that the king had not so ill a purpose to prejudice them by that liberty of that article as they seemed to conceive jealousy, but only to avoid inconveniency to himself, and that there was not so precious regard to be had to that which the formalities of the law did require, as what did more nearly concern the king in his private and particular interests, the use being always to make the conditions of peace agreeable to the considerations and respects of the time present; and therefore, that the king's majesty prayed them to be satisfied that the present state of his affairs would not permit him to allow of that article of restriction.

The senator of Milan answered, that they perceived that the king's majesty had an honorable meaning not to do any thing that might tend to a violation of the peace; but only to avoid being bound to restrictions which might touch him in

honor: therefore, he wished that the articles might be preserved which had been conceived, and that they might be so framed as that the honor of both parties might be preserved. Whereupon it was agreed to read the articles which had been offered by the said commissioners. And their lordships finding cause to except against his strictness of them in sundry points.

It was declared unto them by the lord Cecil, that the king's majesty was not of the disposition of other princes that seek to make evasions by the subtilty of words; but contrariwise, was sincerely minded, as he desired, that the treaty might be made in so clear words as might breed no ambiguity, or doubt of interpretation; and therefore, as the king would be willing to yield to reasonable things, so he desired that the treaty might not be compounded of unnecessary and superfluous articles, as their lordships conceived some of those to be, which were delivered by the said commissioners.

The said commissioners answered, that they would agree to any reasonable amendment, but first, they desired to be satisfied from their lordships, what order should be taken for the revoking of the regiments of his majesty's subjects, and commanders which were in the service of the States; for that it would not stand with the conditions of a peace, to suffer them to continue longer there: and therefore, desired, that it ought to be agreed to revoke the said troops by a public edict.

Their lordships prayed them seriously to consider,

whether it would not be much more inconvenient to the king to yield to their demands therein, than the forbearing thereof would be advantageous to them, both in respect of the greater pester and burden which he should draw upon the realm by the revoking of the said troops; and the rather, for that most of them had great sums of money owing to them by the States, for the discharge of their accounts and reckoning; and in as much, likewise, as by that means he should so much discontent the Hollanders, as might move them out of despair to practise to recover from his majesty the towns which he held there, whereby there would not remain unto them either credit or power, to mediate with them to reduce them to obedience; that the number of his majesty's subjects now serving there was not great, and of them, few which were persons of account. But, for their satisfaction, that the king's majesty would be content to disavow hereafter, the repairing of any persons of quality to the service of the States, and to endeavour to divert them from going thither.

The said commissioners answered, that to make it appear that they would not press the king in any thing to his prejudice, they would satisfy themselves with the forbearance of the said public revocation, so as the king would promise that there should be some private means used to persuade them to return, which was thought reasonable to be promised by their lordships to be done so far forth as the parties serving there could be induced thereunto; and thereupon the articles were

so reformed as should neither import any such public revocation, nor to restrain the going of voluntaries thither; and upon that conclusion taken, their lordships ended their conference for that time.

Friday the 29th of June, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and it was moved by the lord Cecil, that there might be a review of the articles which were formerly agreed on, to be thoroughly perfected, that afterwards they might proceed to the determining of the other points of the treaty, which was accordingly performed; and after some amendments of the articles given on either part, they resolved upon the draught of the general articles for peace, and in what form the commission for the cautionary towns should pass, and that the garrisons of those places should give no aid or assistance to the Hollanders.

This being finished, they proceeded next to speak of some provision to be agreed on between them, for security of our merchants against the dangers of the inquisition of Spain.

To the which it was answered by the commissioners, that it was out of the king of Spain's power to make any particular conventions against the inquisition; but that they would pass a general article, whereby his majesty's subjects should be provided for, not to be subject to danger or matters of religion, so as they gave no cause of public scandal.

But it was told them, by their lordships, that an article, in that generality would not be sufficient safety unto the merchants, because it would be

even in their power, to interpret what was to be accounted a scandal, and what not; and their lordships showed unto them examples of divers notorious wrongs which our merchants had received in that case, besides that there was no cause why difficulties should now be made to yield to particular provisions; for that in time past, the like had been done, as their lordships made appear unto them by that which had been agreed on in that behalf, with the duke of Alva.

Whereupon, at length, it was resolved by the said commissioners to insert a general article of assurance for that purpose; and to refer the further explanation thereof to some particular articles to be agreed on. Upon these resolutions, their lordships being ready to depart; for that the Spanish ambassador acquainted their lordships with a letter which he had newly received from the constable of Castile, whereby he signified, that touching the motion which had been lately made by the king's majesty, for compounding the differences between the kings of Spain and France, upon the placard of thirty upon the hundred, wherein his majesty offered that himself would be a mediator, that although the king of Spain had given the constable no commission to treat thereupon; yet, if the king's majesty would be pleased to deal in that matter, that he would undertake that the king his master should ratify whatever should be concluded therein.

Monday the 2d of July, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and signified unto

them their allowance of the draught of the general article for peace, and touching the cautionary towns which had been considered by them of their last meeting, save only, that they desired the amendment of some few words therein; and that, as there was a provision, that the forces serving in his majesty's cautionary towns, should not minister any aid unto the States; so also, that there might be a reciprocal article, that the arch-duke's or king of Spain's forces should not attempt any thing to the offence of the said garrisons, which was assented unto by the said commissioners.

Then the senator of Milan exhibited to their lordships the general article which was conceived by him for freeing of our merchants from the dangers of the inquisition in Spain, which imported only, that for the better security of the trade there they should not be subject undeservedly to any molestations in their negociations, unless they gave occasion of scandal.

Their lordships took great exceptions both to the weakness of the word "undeservedly;" as also, for that there was not a direct mention of the words, "for not receiving molestation for cause of religion," which their lordships desired to have clearly expressed, to give satisfaction to the king's subjects, that care had been taken for their security in that behalf.

The said commissioners assented to amend the word "undeservedly," but they utterly refused a long time to have any mention made in the article of matters of religion, and earnestly insisted to

have the same to run only in other general terms; for that they could not undertake to prescribe in causes of religion, but that there might be a sufficient provision for the merchants safety by other private articles.

Their lordships answered, that it behoved the king's majesty to be no less careful to provide, that his subjects might not be wronged for matters of conscience, that they showed themselves to be careful to preserve their religion; and that there could not be aptly made a reference from the general article to the private, unless there were mention made in the general article of the matter referred; and, moreover, that it would minister suspicion, that there would follow no due execution of the said private orders, if it should be refused so much as to name the thing that was to be provided for.

Their lordships further had speech with them, touching the explanation of their meaning in the word "scandal;" for that, if it were left ambiguous, it might draw his majesty's subjects into danger, as well for omissions as commissions, as they did exemplify in some particulars.

The said commissioners answered, that if they should express all particulars, what should be interpreted to be scandalous, and what not, the same would grow to be infinite; and therefore, that they held it best rather to rest in the general than to descend to over-great particularities, notwithstanding that they accorded that, for the better distinction, the word "public" should be added
unto

unto it; and that they accounted not the use of private prayer by our merchants, either in their ships, or in their chambers, to be within the compass of public scandal, but to be a matter of adherence to trade; and in the end, after much debate, the said commissioners further yielded to pass the general article, with mention, that his majesty's subjects should not be molested, either by land or sea, for matters of conscience, within the king of Spain's or archduke's dominions, if they gave not occasion of public scandal; and that the particular agreements made in that behalf with the duke of Alva, should now also privately be confirmed.

Wednesday the 4th of July, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and the lord Cecil put them in mind of the general article which was agreed on, concerning the inquisition, which was again read and approved by them, and also of confirming of the private articles, which were assented unto by the duke of Alva; but their lordships desired further, that order also might be taken, that his majesty's subjects might not be entangled by any questions or provocations proceeding from their parts, that might minister cause of scandal, by declaring of themselves, being urged by such means; and also, that the consuls of the English might not, in respect of their residence there, for the government of the merchants, be accounted as inhabitants, and thereby made subject to the censures, which were not reputed inhabitants; both which propositions were thought reasonable and agreed unto.

Afterwards their lordships, entering further into treaty of the matter of intercourse, the lord Cecil took occasion upon the articles, which had been before delivered unto them by the commissioners, to signify that their lordships found they had therein made question of things which they thought should never have come in speech, but have passed under silence, namely touching the restrictions added by them concerning the trade of the Indies, which had never been heretofore offered to any other prince, in any other treaty; and it could not stand with his majesty's honor now to admit.

Whereunto the senator of Milan answered, that although they did not hold any thing which had passed in discourse to stand resolved, till the same were absolutely concluded; yet they prayed their lordships to remember, that in the argument of that matter, they had so far forth declared themselves, that they were to stand upon it, being a liberty which the king had not hitherto granted to his own brethren, or any other friends.

The earl of Northampton, in answer unto him said, that he declared his mind so ambiguously, that their lordships understood not thoroughly whether their meaning was, that they could not permit the said trade, or whether they could not but by exprefs words forbid it: that touching the first, their lordships had no desire to move them to grant the same; but touching the latter, that there was no reason that his majesty should be hardlier dealt withal in the point, than other princes had been, especially the cause being of that

nature: that therein, there ought to be no restraint. By theaw of nature and nations, the sea ought to be common to all men; and likewise among friends mutual commerce ought not to be forbidden in any part of their dominions.

The senator of Milan replied, that although by nature in ordinary course, the sea was free to all; yet notwithstanding, the jurisdiction thereof might be prescribed, when a positive act gave first occasion thereof; and thereupon entered into a large declaration, how the king of Spain and Portugal had by prescription attained a right, as he said, in these seas; and touching the other allegation, that liberty of intercourse ought to be yielded unto each others kingdoms and dominions among friends, he said, that the king's majesty was willing to grant the same in his other dominions, which were great; but, for the Indies, which he had discovered with great charge and loss of men, it was reasonable, that he should restrain the same to his own benefit, to answer so great a charge.

Whereunto the earl of Northampton answered, that neither of these two points which he pleaded of privilege by first discovery, nor of prescription by time, which were all the grounds that the king of Spain could take for that arrogation of the propriety of the Indies to himself, could in any reason stand; because that, for the first point of privilege, we did produce patents granted by Henry VII.; yet in record, to Columbus, &c. for discovering of the Indies *quinto Martii anno Septimo*; and, that further testimony which Ferdinandus

Columbus set down in the life of his ather, whereunto he might add the answer of Charles I. to the Portugeze ambassador, claiming gainst him, as the Spaniards did at this day, agast us, and all nations, a sole interest in this trade, that it was not found out by their skill, but by mere chance, they being cast upon those places by shipwreck, not guided by foresight or knowdge; besides, that if first discovering might give occasion of any such prohibition, that then the queen's majesty might have restrained their fishing in the Northern seas, which, notwithstanding, the Spaniards took liberty to use; and lastly, that the freedom of intercourse to the Indies could not be prejudicial unto them, but good for both states, our merchants demeaning themselves well in their trade; and touching the point that the king of Spain could not challenge the said right by prescription, the said earl alledged that he could avouch all the greatest doctors of the civil laws and common law to prove, that to prescribe the seas, was against the law of nature and nations; because, by that not only *maria & equora*, *sed & omnes res immobiles etiam communes erant*, (not only seas, and navigable rivers, and lakes, but whatever things were fixed and immoveable were common.) For though we have a little digressed from their community, so far as concerned the propriety of lands, whose dominion being common by nature, was notwithstanding, by tract of time divided and severed from that community; yet that in the dominion and propriety of the sea it

wastherwise, the law of nature and community reming still, as at first, unchangeable; both becse the mobility and fluxibility of that element adnted not such anchor-hold of possession; as also because the main ocean was too vast a share to possessed or commanded by any other sover-eighthan by him that created it; but to omit the heap of testimonies, which the grave senate of the learned writers offered in this case, his lonip said, he would only avouch one, which, foris understanding was to be revered, and foris integrity to be preferred in this cause before anin respect that he was of council to the king of Sp., whose interest was chiefly pinched in his conclusion: the author he alluded to was Ferdinando Vuieres, who, glancing at the Venetians and Goese for assuming to themselves the exclusive irest and right in their several gulphs, reprobated their tenets in the plainest terms; and also, the opinions of that crowd of Portugueze and Spaniards who espouse their doctrines. Vasquieres freely declares his opinion, that the kings of Spain have no any prescriptive jurisdiction over the great Indian Ocean, and maintains in general, the liberty of the seas against the idle dreams of the Venetians and Genoese, and all who abet their narrow and unjust maxims on this subject.

The earl of Northampton having quoted at length the words of Vasquieres in the original latin, of which the substance has just been given chiefly in English, proceeds to observe, that the ground of this writer's opinion was, that reason

which was formerly set down, that no priue was tied to any civil laws from which prescriptions did spring, but resorted to the common law of nature and nations, which absolutely prohibited a prescription of those things which God and nature had left in community and liberty. And whereas lawful prescription did require a space of time, *cujus non extat memoria*, (immemorial), that it was evident by the report of records and histories, that the first possession of any place in those parts happened within the memory of man; moreover, that this prescription had been interrupted, which it ought not to be, when right was claimed, might be proved not only by the resort of the countrymen to those parts in time of war, and of the French and other nations in like manner; but most evidently by that answer of the emperor Charles, to the king of Portugal, excepting against his traffic to the East; that trade was open to all nations by sea, that he would be barred of no place where there was hope of gain; and most plainly by this conclusion, when the Portugeeze began to speak so big, that it was a phrase fit to affright and terrify faint spirits; for that it lay in him to requite all affronts with double measure: and therefore, that it was best for them to depart peaceably for the present time, and return again *cum facti essent prudentiores*, (when they had learned greater prudence). The said earl adding therewithal, that he would be loath to be conceived, as if in this they went directly to contest or oppose against the scope of greatness of the king of Spain; but

only to demonstrate to the said commissioners upon this occasion, how great equity there was in the demand of our merchants, that free trade might be allowed to them by the common passage of the seas; so they wronged no princes in Europe, came not where the king of Spain had regiment or property, nor sought traffic by force, but with freedom, and to the liking of those Indian princes, which experience had taught did invite them, and would be glad of them.

The senator of Milan answered thereunto, that although Vasquieres were of that opinion, yet there were many others that upon good advice, had determined otherwise, and for the Emperor Charles, if he should so answer to the Portugeeze touching the East Indies, that it might have been retorted against himself, in respect of his right to the West Indies; that, for the example of the discovery of the northern seas, they had interest in the said discovery as well as we; and, for the controversy between the emperor and the king of Portugal, that the Pope had determined it, distinguishing each part to other by separation of the line.

To this it was answered by the earl of Northampton, first, that it did not rest in the liberty of any prince or potentate under heaven, to limit or stint the scope of traffic or intercourse which nature had left at liberty; for since society was the comfort of men's life, amity the bond of union, and charity the badge of Christ, to take away the ordinary means of settling and establishing those infallible assurances, were the ruin and utter overthrow

of that happy work which Christ would have intended. Above any thing, therefore, it was sin to cut off the most apt occasion of reconciling minds and affections that were so far severed, both in piety and policy. Again it was alledged that the Pope of all other potentates, was least fit, and worst qualified to decide those debates, drawing both his priesthood, and the warrant of his pre-eminency from Christ our Saviour, who in respect that his kingdom was not of this world, nor to be maintained by the sword, as that of other princes, but was dependent upon another string; refused flatly to decide some question wherein he was elected arbitrator, about the portion of a state of inheritance. But supposing that a Pope, as pastor, had to deal and moderate in their disputes between the sheep of his own fold, yet as St. Paul refused plainly to judge of those that are without the Church, (*Dei iis qui sunt foras judicare*), so likewise, it might be thought hard by some princes which were not within the fold, to hearken to the voice of a strange shepherd, (*audire vocem pastoris cujus non fuit*). Last of all, the uttermost that either in law or equity could be required, was, that the sentence should stand in full strength, only against those that had submitted their cause to the compromise, that is, Spain and Portugal, without comprising other princes of Christendom that were left at liberty; that the work of winning souls was laudable and excellent; but yet, since the task was over great for one state, or two, so many provinces having nothing to do with Spain or

Portugal, which were to be drawn by ordinary means into the ordinary way, the safest and soundest course for the dispatch of that labor, as our Saviour himself had taught, was to send in many laborers where the harvest was plenteous, (*multos operantes ubi messis multa*), and not to lay the labor upon one hand or two, which in reason, must be weary before the church be replenished. That many were both resolute, and able to preach Christ crucified, which by obstructions of ready passage were excluded from the scope of their religious industry.

That the bounty of Christ, in giving and granting, as the royal prophet had set down, *terram filiis hominum*, (the earth to the sons of men), was only limited by conscience and equity, with this respect, that it did not take away the right of any other, either by pre-occupation, purchase, gift, or any other means possessed of his part; because, not every thing, but *quod nullius in bonis est*, (what is in no man's possession), being either derelicted, or *nunquam acquisitum*, (never acquired), *occupanti conceditur*, (becomes the property of the first occupier). But in this case we did not seek territorial property, but commerce, and the propagation of faith and charity; therefore, not to be refused.

The lord Cecil said, that to bring the matter to a conclusion, he desired to be satisfied from the commissioners, whether by their commission they were so restrained as that they could not pass that article for common liberty of intercourse, without an express prohibition of the Indies;

which, if it were so, then that their lordships must plainly let them know, that the king's majesty could not admit a condition so much prejudicial to his honor.

The senator of Milan answered, that by their commission, they could not admit any article in another form than to exclude from the liberty of the trade with the Indies: notwithstanding, if their lordships could advise of any means how, the substance being preserved, the king's honor may duly be respected, by the alteration of any other form of words than was proposed, they would willingly assent thereunto; or otherwise, that they were sorry that so much labor had been taken in vain, seeing they could not effect what was desired of all parties.

Hereupon, after further consideration and debating, it was resolved at length by all parties, that in the article conceived for general intercourse, those words should be inserted, *in quibus ante bellum fuit commercium juxta & secundum usum & observantiam*, (in matters wherein there was commerce before the war, agreeably and according to the usage and observance of ancient compacts), and so the article to pass for the kingdoms appertaining to the Spanish king; whereby their lordships thought it fit, rather to leave the matter to the liberty of the other interpretation of former treaties, and the observance and use thereof, than that the instancing of express permission or prohibition, might give interruption to the treaty.

Their conference being ended, the lord Cecil

signified to the said commissioners, that the French ambassador had acquainted the king's majesty, that he had received authority from the French king his master, to treat with the said commissioners, for the compounding of the difference concerning the impost of thirty in the hundred, and the Spanish ambassador also agreed to have agreed with him thereupon.

Thursday the 5th of July, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and it was moved by their lordships, that they might proceed to consider of the rest of the articles which were delivered by the commissioners of Spain, concerning intercourse of trade, upon the perusal whereof, it was moved by the lord Cecil, that there might be a permission that it should not be lawful for the ships of war of the said princes, to enter into our ports above a certain number; and that advertisement should be before-hand given to his majesty by the said princes, when they should have occasion to send extraordinary numbers of ships of war into those parts, which was thought reasonable, and the same inserted accordingly, into the said articles; and so, with other amendments in some other points, the articles for the trade with Spain were resolved, and agreed on.

Afterwards, their lordships proceeded to consider of the articles which were delivered by the archdukes' commissioners, wherein their lordships finding that among other things, they had specially inserted, the former trade of our merchants into the archdukes' ports, and undertaken to assure the liberty of the same trade.

It was demanded by their lordships, whether they intended to enjoin our merchants to trade into their ports, notwithstanding that the States should oppose themselves thereunto.

The said commissioners answered, that seeing they had allowed of merchants to trade into Holland, it was as great reason, that the king should take order, that his subjects might be permitted to trade freely into their ports, the archdukes being no less worthy to be therein regarded than the Hollanders. And, as it was one of the most essential points whereof they expected benefit by the treaty, that it did likewise import the king's majesty in his honor not to have his subjects trade restrained by the said Hollanders.

Their lordships answered, that it was not the king's meaning to make a difference of respect between the archdukes and the Hollanders; but that it was fit to proceed by such degrees, as not presently to give them discontent by any public stipulations against them, whereby to enter into terms of unkindness with them; and for the peace which he made with the archdukes, to hazard to plunge himself into a more desperate war with the others, in respect of their obstinacy, to restrain all trade from their ports, pretending that otherwise their ruin did depend thereupon; besides, that as merchants could not be compelled to trade to any places where they should not find it convenient and safe for them, so that there was no reason to tie the king's majesty to straiter conjunctions upon that point, than the French king was

by his treaty ; but that they might assure themselves, that the king's majesty did effectually desire that his merchants should trade into their ports , and that all good opportunities should be taken for the same.

The said commissioners alledged , that it did not less import the archdukes , that their princes should be relieved by trade ; and therefore, earnestly insisted, in respect that the benefit thereof was one of the principal fruits of a peace , as had been before declared, that there might be direct provision for the same by articles, as had been proposed.

Their lordships said, that they would be willing to satisfy them , in the effect of that which they desired , to endeavour that our merchants might trade into their ports , though it could not be as yet with that fulness as heretofore it had been used ; and if the States should impeach our merchants therein, that the king's majesty would show as conveniently he might, to be sensible thereof ; but because it was not fit for him to promise by open act, to take any unkind courses against them, their lordships yielded otherwise to pass the said articles in general and reciprocal terms, that care should be taken by the king's majesty, and the archdukes, for a free intercourse of trade between their subjects in each of their countries , and delivered them a minute of an article for that purpose, whereof the said commissioners desired to have leisure to consider till the day following, and so their conference ended for that time.

Friday the 6th of July, their lordships repaired again to the said commissioners, and their lordships requiring to understand by them how they were satisfied with the article which was delivered to them at their last meeting for a reciprocal intercourse of trade with the provinces of the archdukes.

The president Richardot answered, that they were forced again to represent to their lordships, that it did so much import them to receive benefit by the trade of his majesty's subjects with them, as that they must desire that there might be a direct provision for the same; that it was not their purpose to seek to engage his majesty into a war, but only desired that we would take order, which we might, for relief in that behalf, otherwise that they should receive little fruit by the peace; that they confessed their strength to be too weak by sea, as that they were not able to prevail for the freeing of their ports from the impeachments which the Hollanders did give them; and therefore, that they desired his majesty's assistance therein, which they conceived was not to be refused, seeing it would be good for the subjects of both countries to procure such an intercourse of trade.

The lord Cecil told them, that as the king's majesty would be willing to favor the archdukes in any thing he might, so he was to have care not to do it with prejudice of his honor; as in this case they sought to impose such a condition of inequality upon him as could not be very disadvantageous unto him if he should assent to the same; and therefore, that the article concerning

the said matter ought to pass between the king and the archdukes in reciprocal terms.

The earl of Northampton added, that the joining of the king's majesty with the archdukes could not but be both honorable for the said princes, and also effectual to the purpose by the commissioners intended: honorable, in that considerations made between greater and lesser princes ever strengthened the weaker and redounded to their reputation; effectual, for that when it should appear that his majesty had a joint desire together with the archdukes, that the commerce for their subjects should be free, and to that purpose had reciprocally accorded that each of their ports, and the passage thereunto, should be open to the others subjects, it could not but be of great force to work the effect which was designed for the common benefit of trade; and further, his lordship referred unto their considerations, if his majesty should undertake the care solely, as by their speeches they urged, whether, besides the note which ought to be taken of so unequal conditions clean contrary to the common ground, *ubi commodum ibi onus*, (the party that is to reap the profit ought to bear the burden), the same might not be interpreted also, to imply in this point, a league offensive and defensive, and a professing of hostility to all the archdukes enemies, or at least administer cause of jealousy unto the United Provinces; that his majesty would take occasions to damnify them for the archdukes' benefit, which, how inconvenient it were to be done at this time, both in respect of

his majesty's honor, and the discommodity also that might grow thereby to the archdukes themselves; the case standing with them to consider duly of it, and then he doubted not, but they would no longer insist on those terms, nor seek to press their lordships further than might be accorded unto conveniently.

Their lordships finding the commissioners not fully satisfied with the aforesaid reasons, it was at length agreed to insert into the said article the words *conjunctim & divisim* (conjointly and severally); which gave satisfaction unto the said commissioners, and the president Richardot in the name of them, yielded great thanks unto their lordships for their honorable proceedings with them in all the course of the treaty, wherein they acknowledged to have received very good contentment, and prayed to be excused from having so much insisted upon the last matter, in respect that the same was also of great importance unto them.

That article being so agreed, their lordships signified unto the said commissioners, that they conceived to have now resolved of all the principal articles of the treaty, and that the king's majesty was not willing to tie himself to longer residence within the city at that time of the year, but to go his intended progress; therefore, they wished that the coming of the constable of Castile might be hastened, with all the speed that might be, which the said commissioners undertook to do, and that he should arrive within twenty days, and because there remained nothing else to be
further

further done for the final concluding of the treaty, than only to consider of certain demands which had been made by our English merchants for their better assurance, and to reduce the treaty into form; it was moved by their lordships, that for the speedier accelerating of that business, Sir Daniel Dun and Sir Thomas Edmonds might resort unto them for the dispatch thereof, with them in respect of their lordships other employments, at that time, which was assented unto.

It was, moreover, moved by the lord Cecil, that it might be proceeded by the treaty, that if hereafter, upon the king's intercession, those of the United Provinces might be drawn to a reconciliation with the archdukes, there might be a reservation of liberty for the receiving of them upon the king's motion and solicitation in that behalf, which was likewise yielded unto, and so their lordships conference ended for that time.

Friday the 10th of August, the constable of Castile arrived at London, being conducted from Gravesend to Dover by the lord Wotton, and the chief gentlemen of Kent, whither the earl of Northampton, attended by divers of the king's servants, and others, was sent to receive him, who brought him thence to Somerset-house, which was richly furnished for him by the king, and order taken for the defraying of him and his train at the king's charges, and so likewise for all the other commissioners.

Those of Spain being lodged together at Somer-

set-house, and the archdukes' commissioners at Durham-house.

Sunday the 12th, their lordships and the commissioners went to visit and welcome the constable in the king's name.

Tuesday the 14th, the king's majesty returned from Royston.

Wednesday the 15th, their lordships went to confer with the constable, to make a recapitulation of all the points of the treaty which had been formerly agreed on with the other commissioners; and, for that it was propounded by the merchants to know whether the treaty did import to give them leave to carry likewise the commodities of Germany into Spain, as well as those of this realm, without paying the impost of thirty per hundred; which, although their lordships conceived in their meaning, and according to the words of the treaty to be clear in that point; nevertheless, it was thought fit by their lordships, to speak by accident of that matter, first, with the commissioners, and afterwards as there should be occasion with the constable himself, which was accordingly done: and the said commissioners insisted earnestly upon the contrary interpretation of the said point, for not comprising the merchandizes of Germany to be free from the payment of the said impost of thirty in the hundred: and also, the constable maintained, that he would not yield to the further enlarging of the said article, seeing he had sent the treaty subscribed by their lordships into Spain.

Whereunto their lordships replied, that they onl desired the explanation, and not the enlargement of the said article, for that they did not assat to the passing of the same, but with the mening for concluding the aforesaid liberty for the merchandizes of Germany; whereupon that thy must still stand as a thing which deeply concerned the interest of his majesty's subjects, and upn these terms their lordships departed from the constable at that time.

Thursday the 16th, the constable received audience of the king.

Friday the 17th, their lordships repaired again to the constable, to agree of the form of the preamble of the treaty, and had again speech with him concerning the former question of the merchandizes of Germany, insisting as before they had done, that they could not yield otherwise to interpret the said article with the liberty which had been mentioned; whereupon, after some further debating of the matter, the constable in the end agreed to the admittance of that liberty, for free transportation of the merchandizes of Germany into Spain, which were subject by the placard to the payment of the impost of thirty per hundred; but he desired that their lordships would content themselves with the promise thereof, under his own hand, without altering any thing in the words of the treaty; for that having sent the treaty into Spain signed by their lordships, it might be reckoned a great lightness in him to yield afterwards to the enlarge-

ment of the same in any thing; and he undertook that the king of Spain should ratify his said promise, which was accepted by their lordships, and a private article accordingly drawn and signed by him for the said matter, and their lordships so procured him at the same time to sign the private articles for the moderation of the proceedings of the inquisition against his majesty's subjects traduced into Spain.

Sunday the 19th, the king's majesty took his oath in the chapel before the constable, and the archdukes' commissioners, for the observation of the peace; and that day all the said ambassadors were sumptuously feasted by the king, at his own table at dinner, in the great banqueting house, and during the time of dinner, order was given for the proclaiming peace at the court-gate and through the city.

Monday the 20th, the constable had a private audience by the king.

Tuesday the 21st, it was appointed that the constable should take his leave of the king, because of his majesty's desire to leave the city, to proceed in his pretended progress; but in respect that the constable fell sick, and was too unable to stir of his bed, the king's majesty was pleased to visit him at his own lodging, and there to bid him farewell; and to do the like to the count of Aremberg who was also indisposed of his gout, after performance whereof his majesty immediately departed from London.

Saturday the 25th, the constable and the rest of the commissioners departed from London, the constable being accompanied to Gravesend by the earl of Northampton, and from thence to Dover by the lord Wotton. The earl of Aremberg and the rest of the archdukes' commissioners embarked themselves about the same time in the river.

A P P E N D I X.

B.

(Vol. I. Page 136.)

SIR Francis Cottington, in a letter to the lord treasurer Salisbury, dated Madrid 5th February 1609, says, "The carrying away the Moors of Valentia, who were suffered to transport all their wealth with them, hath cost the king, besides what he still owes, much above 800,000 ducats, as myself have seen by the brief of the account in a comptador's house. Preda (one of the Spanish secretaries of state), tells me of much more, which I can also easily believe.

"Hereupon, it seems, the king hath taken a resolution not to suffer any one that goes now from Andalusia, Estremadura, and the two Castiles, to carry away any kind of gold or silver, or

prohibited commodities ; neither may they, by exchange or otherwise , convey their monies out of these kingdoms ; which to prevent , by proclamation all men are prohibited to deal with them in that nature , upon pain of extraordinary punishment.

“ The French ambassador, notwithstanding, as it seems, received of them great sums of money upon good conditions ; and, for the more safe conveyance of such papers as he gave them, he dispatched his steward in post for France. This was not so secretly carried, but his steward was apprehended in Buytrago, thirteen leagues hence, and brought back prisoner to this court : his mail was taken from him and sent unto the secretary Prada. The ambassador, hereupon, wrote a very angry letter unto the council, in which, as himself tells me, he threatened, if they opened the mail, no messenger or correo should pass from hence through France, without having his letters seized. He went in person to every one of the counsellors of state, and uttered much choler. In the end, as I am informed, they gave him his mail unopened, and the steward is again on his way with it.

“ By order of the council, Sylva de Torres, the president of Alcaldies, wrote a letter unto the ambassador, and sent it him with the mail ; the ambassador took the letter, and without opening it, threw it into the fire, saying unto the messenger, “ Tell Sylva de Torres that this answer I give him. ” The ambassador doth much glory

herein, but is by many censured for his passionate proceeding. They are here very angry with him; and though they say little, will, I dare assure your lordship, find a trick to tame him, if he remain long among them. The sums of money he hath received, are reported to be so extraordinarily great, as I dare not report it unto your lordship; but Prada himself tells me of many hundred thousands. ”

In a letter to the lord treasurer, dated Madrid, the 4th of March, 1609, Sir Francis writes thus, “ By my former advertisements your lordship has understood that the Moreiscos of these parts were prohibited to carry away any kind of gold or silver. This was so strictly executed, as some thirty-two or thirty-three were hanged at Burgos, for being found with money and jewels. Among the rest, one that had in his albarda, which is like a pad to carry sacks on, four hundred ducats in doubloons. Notwithstanding all this wariness and rigor, they found, that some by bills of exchange, others in specie (artificially hidden), carried away great treasure; whereupon, they have now published, that all shall carry what money they will, conditionally, that by the way, where they shall be searched, they leave the one half to the king.

“ Commissioners are now sent from hence into every province, and to make sale of such houses and possessions as they have left, and were belonging to them; by which, it is thought the king

shall gather a very great treasure; and doubtless, it cannot be otherwise."

It appears that his Catholic majesty never dreams of applying the confiscations of the Moreos to the exigencies of state, but dissipated them with a thoughtless profusion among favorites. From a letter of Cottington's, dated Madrid 16th of May, 1610, we learn that "the king had given unto the duke of Lerma, out of the goods of the Moreos, 250,000 ducats; unto the duke of Uzeda, Lerma's son, 100,000; unto the Conde of Lemos 100,000; and unto the Condesa Lemos, Lerma's daughter, 50,000; which is in all 500,000 ducats, all paid already out of the sale of the lands and goods of the Moreos."

The following extract of a letter from Cottington, dated Madrid, June 10th, 1610, serves at once to illustrate the state of society in Spain, and the condition of the wretched Moreos who remained, after the expulsion of their kindred, in that country.

"Of late there have very few nights passed, in which many people, of all ranks, have not been slain in the streets: whereupon it is here proclaimed, that no man may keep a slave within five leagues of this court; as imagining that those kind of people have committed these murders; and not unlikely, for that few did here serve themselves with other than captive Turks, and Moors; and so the multitude of them were very great."

In what follows, we have an example of the

vicissitudes of nations ; for as we have just seen the hard fate of the Moors oppressed by the Spaniards , we shall there behold a picture not less affecting than curious, of the Spaniards, at a former period, oppressed by the Moors.

Sir John Digby , afterwards earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at the court of Spain, in a letter, dated Madrid, 22d December, 1617, says, " Certain inhabitants are here , now some few months since, discovered among the mountains, not many leagues from Salamanca, who dwell in a valley compassed by impassable hills. They are, to the number of five hundred persons, and doubtless have dwelt there (they I mean and their predecessors) ever since the conquest of Spain by the Moors, from whom it seems they fled (some few families of them) ; and hard it is to understand how they got down into that valley. They have no other grain but rye, nor other flesh than goats. Fish they have in brooks and lakes ; and the valley is of a good compass, which was hitherto imagined to be only mountain inaccessible.

" Some sixty years past, were likewise discovered in the Pyrenean hills, divers villages, not far from La Pena de Francia, and in the same nature as these are, who are extreme poor miserable souls, and know neither God, nor any religion."

A P P E N D I X.

C.

(Vol. II. Page 288.)

WE learn from a letter of Sir Francis Cottington's, dated Madrid, January 5th, 1610, that the Spanish parliament had been just dissolved, after having been continued for the space of four years. "Many new laws, Sir Francis adds, are published, though not yet printed; among which it is provided, that no man, on great penalty, may lend his coach, nor any go in coaches of their own without four horses in it, two coachmen, and a gentleman of the horse following on horseback."

The Duke of Lerma appears to have carried his love of pomp or parade to lengths, that to the present age must appear to be ridiculous, which, to his contemporaries, appeared to be excessive, and which, in his particular circumstances, were certainly imprudent.

"In a late letter," says Sir John Digby (writing to the British secretary of state from Madrid, 9th of June, 1617), I advertised you of 70 long carts sent from hence with stuff, by the Duke of Lerma, unto Lerma; touching which, I must now thus far advertise your honor, that those carts going all together out of town, with a multitude of officers and servants, in great bravery, with trumpets sounding before them, passed by the Palace-gate, that

not being the direct way, where the king, hearing the trumpets, inquired the cause of their sounding; and being thereof informed, called for the duke, and gave him a very sharp reprehension, who laid the fault upon his officers, and forthwith turned many out of his service, who had great and gainful places. But this, I understood, gives the king so little satisfaction, as he now absolutely refused to go to Lerma, where the duke had made extraordinary preparation for his entertainment. This is so much noted and spoke of in this court, as I have thought it worthy the advertising unto your honor; and peradventure, it may be the beginning of a greater inconvenience to the duke. His plate alone, sent in these carts, besides money, jewels, and stuff, weighed above eight hundred thousand ducats, as I am credibly informed by those who had the charge of it, and have seen it in their books by good account."

It appears from a letter of Sir John Digby's dated Madrid, 28th January, 1619, that the duke of Lerma's annual income amounted to at least six hundred thousand ducats.

We may form some idea of the power and consequence of this minister, and of the pomp and state in which he lived, from the following extract from a letter of Sir Francis Cottington's to the lord treasurer Salisbury, dated Madrid, 19th August, 1619. "I dare assure your lordship, that he (the secretary Arosstequi) and I, before winter pass, may peradventure wait many an hour together, at the duke of Lerma's door, and go back again

without getting in. Many times have I seen the constable do this, as Sir Charles Cornwallis can well witness. I once saw the Florentine ambassador, being a bishop, thrust out of an outer chamber of the duke's. Sir Charles had more free entrance than any man in his time, of what degree soever; and yet sometimes was fain to stay. Your lordship knows well, that, but by the way of this duke, here is nothing to be done; and therefore, I have written thus largely of his unsufferable greatness."

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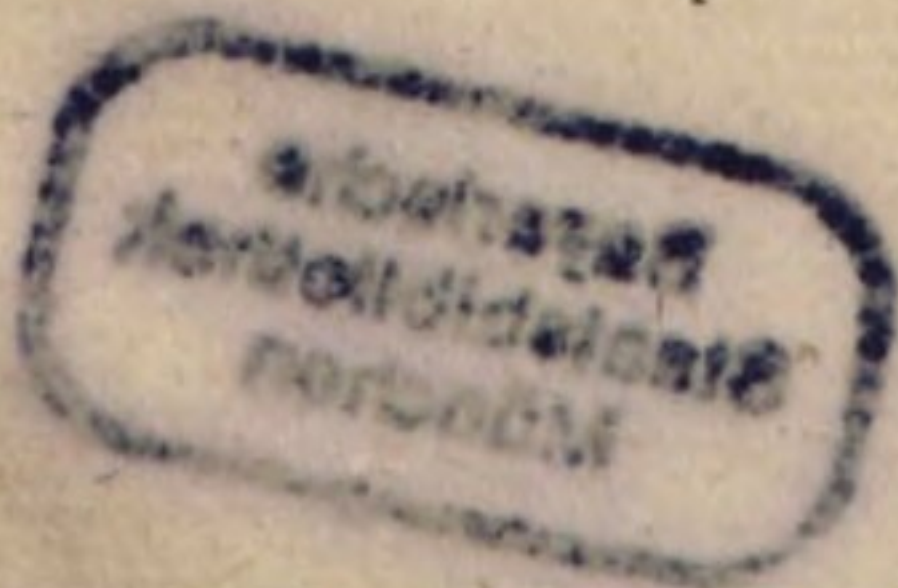
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Watson, Robert, 1730-1781

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